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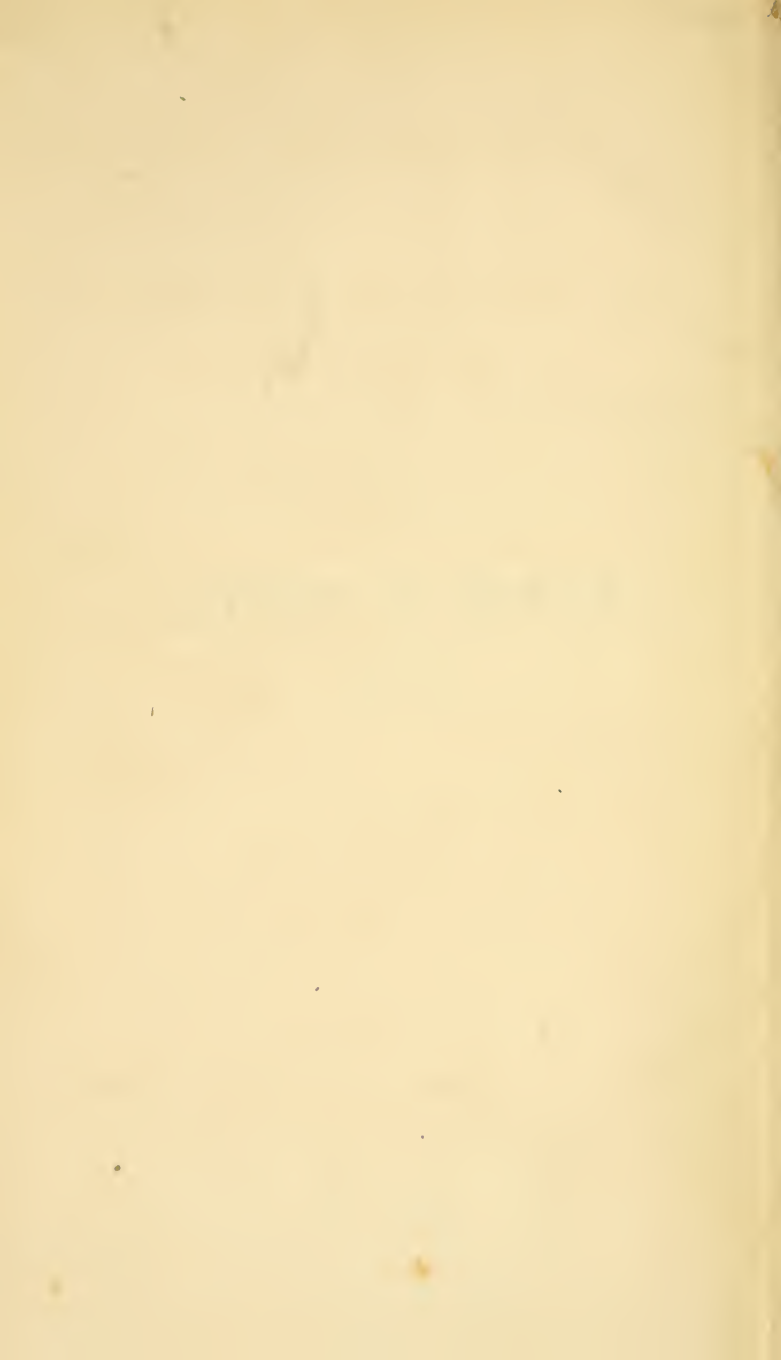






NOTES ON HAITI.

VOL. II.



# NOTES ON HAITI,

MADE DURING A RESIDENCE  
IN THAT REPUBLIC.

BY

CHARLES MACKENZIE, Esq. F.R.S. F.L.S.

LATE HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL IN HAITI,  
AND NOW HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER OF ARBITRATION  
IN THE HAVANNA, &c. &c.

Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis quod tu, jubet alter.

HORAT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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# CONTENTS

OF

## THE SECOND VOLUME.

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### CHAP. I.

First discovery—Cacique governments—First town built by Columbus—Incursions of buccaniers—Conquest of the West by French—Boundary fixed—Characters of the two colonies, and their population—Animosity of castes in the French colony—Revolution in France—Effects in colony—Application of coloured people to National Assembly—Effects—Violent acts of Assembly . . . . . Page 1

### CHAP. II.

Arrival of Ogé—Failure of enterprise—Capture—Trial—Execution—Insurrections in the West and South—General Assembly repair to France—Conduct condemned—Decrees annulled—Progress of revolution—Murder of Colonel Mauduit—Flight of General Blanchelande—Conflicting decrees respecting civil rights—Slave insurrection—Organisation of re-

VOL. II.

*b*



volters—Discord of whites and coloured parties—Interference of mother country—Commissioners—Partial success of their measures . . . . .	18
---	----

## CHAP. III.

Arrival of new commissioners—Imprudent discussions—Return of Ailhaud, Sonthonax, and Polverel, with full power—Revolution advances—Pierrot and Macaya—Liberty of slaves proclaimed, first by Sonthonax, afterwards by Polverel—English invasion—New commissioners—Toussaint L'Ouverture—History—Sonthonax sent to France—General Hedouville—Contests between Toussaint and Rigaud—Attempts of Consuls—Colonial constitution—French invasion—Bloody war—Success of Leclerc—Expulsion of Rochambeau . . . . .	36
---	----

## CHAP. IV.

First establishment of independence—Dessalines, general-in-chief—Character—Treachery—Declaration of independence—Atrocity of Dessalines—Invasion of the East—Assumption of imperial dignity—Cruelties—Revolution—Establishment of two republics under Christophe and Petion—Christophe king—His character—Laws—Court—Nobility—Order of knighthood—Policy—Treasure—Death—Consequences . . . . .	55
--	----

## CHAP. V.

Petion elected President—His history—His system—Friendly to Britain—Gauman's revolt—Arrival of Rigaud—Separation of the South—Five governments—Death of Petion—Election of	
--	--

## CONTENTS.

vii

Boyer—Union of whole Island—French negotiations—Baron Mackau—Recognition of independence—Arrival of foreign agents . . . . .	74
--	----

### CHAP. VI.

Government—Population—Ecclesiastical Establishment .	90
--	----

### CHAP. VII.

Agriculture . . . . .	133
-----------------------	-----

### CHAP. VIII.

Commerce and Finances . . . . .	171
---------------------------------	-----

### CHAP. IX.

Army—Navy—Defences . . . . .	198
------------------------------	-----

APPENDIX . . . . .	207
--------------------	-----



# NOTES ON HAITI.

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## CHAPTER I.

First discovery—Cacique governments—First town built by Columbus—Incursions of buccaniers—Conquest of the West by French—Boundary fixed—Characters of the two colonies, and their population—Animosity of castes in the French colony—Revolution in France—Effects in colony—Application of coloured people to National Assembly—Effects—Violent acts of Assembly.

WHEN Columbus on his first voyage had visited the Bahama islands and Cuba, he accidentally discovered the island of Haiti, on the 5th of December, 1492. He gave to it the name of Hispaniola: it was subsequently better known under that of St. Domingo; but since the establishment of independence in 1803, the original designation has been resumed.

Its greatest length, from east to west, is about one hundred and sixty leagues; and its greatest breadth, from north to south, nearly forty leagues; while its circumference, including the sinuosities of the coast, is estimated at three hundred and fifty, but the actual line of sea-coast does not fall far short of six hundred. The surface is calculated to extend over two thousand four hundred and fifty square leagues.

Three principal chains of mountains (from which emanate smaller mountain arms) run from the central group of Cibao. The whole of these are described as fertile and susceptible of cultivation, even to their summits, affording great variety of climate, which, contrary to what is the fact in the plains, is remarkably healthy. The soil of the plains is, in general, a very rich vegetable mould, exceedingly fertile and well watered. There are several large rivers, and an immense number of smaller streams, some tributary and others independent. The ports are numerous and good. Timber of the finest description is most abundant, and mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, and rock salt, besides other mineral productions, are said not to be wanting. The French are, therefore, fully borne out in designating this

magnificent island “*La Reine des Antilles.*” There are also three considerable inland lakes.

Several islands immediately adjacent to Haiti, such as Gonave, Tortuga, Isle des Vaches, Saona, and others, which are either wholly or nearly uninhabited, form the dependencies of the republic.

At the time of the discovery, the island is described to have been divided into five independent kingdoms, each under the government of a cacique, to whom the Indians yielded implicit obedience. It does not fall within the scope of my present design to say more of these people and their institutions, as my object is to delineate more recent events, for the right understanding of which it is only necessary to give a very rapid sketch of the progress of the several European establishments that have been formed in the island.

Columbus' first establishment was the city “*La Isabella,*” on the north side of the island, and so named in honour of his royal patroness. At a subsequent period, though not long after, his brother Diego founded the city of Santo Domingo, which, on the abandonment of *Isabella*, became the capital. I have already noticed the change in the site of this city from the left to the right bank of the river *Ozama*.

Various towns were successively built by the Spanish governors, notwithstanding the almost constant internal dissensions that prevailed, even from the period of its first discovery ; but with the exception of some ravages by the buccaniers, by Drake and others, no systematic or successful permanent inroad appears to have been made before 1625, when a formidable body of their previously transient enemies, the buccaniers, commenced a series of attacks, and in 1630 took forcible possession of the island of Tortuga, from which they expelled the resident Spaniards. This island, which lies about two leagues to the north of Port de Paix, was a most advantageous post for the freebooters, who continued their unsanctioned depredations until 1665, when a formal settlement with the authority of the French government was effected by the same description of men, under the command of a French gentleman named Dogeron. From that time to the end of the seventeenth century, the warfare between the two neighbours was incessant ; in the course of which, however, the original aggressors gradually extended their possessions to the larger island ; and as the rights of coast were undefined, the collisions were so frequent, that it became necessary for the courts of Versailles and Madrid to determine



the boundary of the two colonies. This was done in 1776, by the "*Traité des Limites.*" By this treaty it was decided that the boundary point to the south should be at "Anse à Pitres," and to the north in the bay of Mancenille, between which two points an undulating line passed by Vallier, San Raphael, the Black Mountain, and the Salt Lake; so that, with the exception of a small portion, the French colony nowhere extended more than ten leagues from some part of the coast, while the sea line was not less than two hundred and thirty leagues in extent. The facilities of access to the coast were considerably less in the Spanish portion of the island.

The Spaniards possessed nearly two-thirds of the surface, while their neighbours boasted of a population nearly six times greater than that of the more extensive region.

Besides these differences, there were others fully as remarkable in the constitution of the society, and in the objects of pursuit. The Spanish court had, at a very early period, abandoned this its first American colony to its own resources; the French government and nation, on the other hand, regarded their portion as their most valuable colony: and while depression and langour pervaded the one, activity

and riches distinguished the other ; yet both were slave colonies, differing, however, very essentially in the relative proportions of the different classes of the community, as well as in other circumstances. The free Spaniards, of all complexions, much exceeded the number of slaves ; while the French slave population very largely predominated ; and there seems to have existed as marked a difference in the treatment of the subordinate castes by the dominant one, on the two sides of the boundary.

The Spanish slave laws are well known to be singularly mild ; and there does not appear to have existed any desire on the part of the proprietors to contravene them. From all the evidence I have been able to collect, I am satisfied that, (in spite of very strong prejudices, which the native historian Valverde appears to have considered very praiseworthy, since he deemed it necessary to assert their existence,) the treatment of the subordinate castes was remarkably humane : no practical distinction founded on the colour of the skin of the individual, prevailed ; and I have been assured by a very distinguished officer of high rank in the British navy, that he has seen, not many years ago, respectable white masters occupying with their guests the upper part of

the table, while the slaves sat "below the salt."

The strongest fact that was ever stated to me in confirmation of the mildness of the course pursued, was mentioned by a Spanish resident in Santo Domingo, and afterwards corroborated by others, Haitians as well as foreigners. Although Spanish merchants were in the habit of taking their slaves with them, when carried by business into territories of the neighbouring republic, there is no instance of any one of the latter having abandoned his master, although the moment he passed the frontier, he was, "de facto," free.

The French, on the other hand, are said not to have borne their faculties with much meekness to their slaves. In spite of the protecting provisions of the code noir, the practice is reported not to have upheld the rights so protected; and tales of cruelty unparalleled, except perhaps in the annals of the French revolution, or in those of the invasion of Spain in 1808, are recorded, which would be deemed mere fabrications, were it not from the frequency of their repetition. Colonel Malenfant details some revolting circumstances, especially connected with a certain M. Caradeux, an extensive proprietor in the Cul de Sac; and Vastey, in his "Système

Colonial Dévoilé," devotes thirty-five pages to celebrate the atrocities of above one hundred proprietors, especially named. Indeed, in all Haitian accounts of French cruelty before 1788, there are very ample details of a similar description.

M. Caradeux and others are described as having ordered offending slaves to be thrown into burning furnaces; but I never, however, met with any person who could of his own knowledge declare that such was a fact. But I have been assured, on authority of respectability, that among the ruins of the buildings places of frightful solitary confinement may still be traced. After making every allowance for the exaggeration to which excited passions give birth, there is too much reason to believe that too many of the French proprietors in St. Domingo were as foolishly and irregularly indulgent to their slaves in moments of relaxation, as they were harsh and unrelenting at other seasons. Such a system necessarily encouraged angry passions among the serfs, whom it peculiarly fitted for being acted upon by those who chose to avail themselves of their excited feelings. Nor was this excitation likely to be lessened by the large yearly importations of these unhappy people from Africa, which were con-

tinued even after the revolution had begun its course.

The condition of the free-coloured population was, if possible, worse than that of the slaves, although, by the fifty-seventh article of the code noir, even foreign-born slaves, on being manumitted, were entitled to enjoy the advantages of natural-born free subjects.\* It is described by various persons as truly degraded. Although individually free, all coloured persons were considered public property, and, as such, exposed to perpetual insult and humiliation: they were governed by a set of local laws applicable only to them. As soon as they had attained the age of manhood, they were obliged to serve three years in the “*maréchaussée*,” a kind of militia, to keep the runaway slaves in check: they were besides compelled to serve in the regular militia. During a considerable portion of the year, they were subject to a *corvée* for the maintenance of the roads: they were excluded from all public employment, as well as from any of the liberal professions: they could not even be schoolmasters or apothecaries; and lastly, the mixed races were not permitted to bear the names of their white progenitors. The number

\* See Appendix, note (Q.)

of this class of the population at the commencement of the French revolution, was not far short of thirty thousand; and as many of them, even among the free blacks, had enjoyed all the advantages of European education, these disqualifications pressed with great severity, and gave rise to a spirit of resistance, which it must be acknowledged to have been perfectly natural. The infliction of physical injury will be resented by the most rude as well as the most enlightened; but the privation of political and personal rights will be the more keenly felt and resisted, in proportion to the mental improvement of the individual suffering from it.

The constitution of the white population also appears to have been singularly fitted for disorder: they were divided into two great classes—Europeans and Creoles, or natives of the island. The former were generally public functionaries or the military, who regarded themselves as holding the first rank in the community, over which they are said to have exercised much petty tyranny. The remainder of the Europeans were merchants, some few proprietors, and adventurers in every trade and profession. The lower order, who generally exercised the mechanical arts, and carried on a large share of the retail trade, were called the “petits blancs,” and



they particularly distinguished themselves by their opposition to the free people of colour. The resident creole-whites considered themselves the heirs of the soil, and lived principally on their estates ; some few being merchants, or pursuing some other profession besides planting, lived in the towns as well as the great bulk of the Europeans. It seems to be understood on all hands that great jealousies existed among the whole of the whites ; and to add to their disunion, the events of 1789 in the mother country came in aid, and gave birth to an additional distinction—that of royalist and republican.

Thus, though there were ostensibly three parties or castes, each in a high state of excitation, there was another subdivision, which eventually brought about alliances between parties that under ordinary circumstances would have been most hostile to each other ; and also brought into collision those who otherwise would have had but one common interest.\*

The political changes which had begun to

\* “ Un esprit d'égoïsme, d'orgueil, et de vanité régnait dans toutes les classes : les grands planteurs méprisaient les petits blancs ; les petits blancs méprisaient les hommes de couleur et noirs affranchis, et ceux-ci, à leur tour, les malheureux esclaves.” *Essai sur les Causes de la Révolution, &c.* Par Le Baron Vastey, p. 4.



develop themselves in France, in the course of 1788, had excited an almost feverish state in the colony; and that was carried to its height by the resolution of the States General, on the 27th of December of that year, to admit into that body a number of the "Tiers Etat," equal to that of the other two orders. The colonists claimed a right to participate in the representation; and in spite of the exertions of the governor-general Duchilleau to moderate the popular ebullitions and to prevent the formation of parochial assemblies, they were organised in all parts; and they unanimously voted that the colony had the right of sending deputies to the States General: accordingly eighteen were elected; and without being summoned by the government at home, or authorised by that of the island, they embarked for France. They arrived about a month after the formation of the National Assembly; but only six of them were allowed to verify their powers and to take their seats.

It is said that the society of the "Amis des Noirs" was established about this time, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the black population in the West Indies: its leading members were Brissot, Petion, Mirabeau, Claviere, Condorcet, and the celebrated Abbé Gregoire.

The planters of St. Domingo, on the other hand, formed the "Club Massiac," so named from the hotel in which they held their meetings, for the avowed purpose (I state this on the authority of Placide Justin\*) of supporting the revolution; but in reality, only to do so when such support was calculated to give them weight against the authorities in the colony, who were supposed to favour the principles of an equality of rights among all the free population. This society is also described to have contributed, by its correspondence with secret societies in the colony founded on principles similar to their own, very largely to unsettle the minds of the population.

The capture of the Bastille acted so powerfully on the feelings of the colonists, that they became the aggressors, and demanded from the intendant-general Barbé Marbois an account of his official acts, for which he was responsible only to the king. As resistance might have been hazardous as well as unavailing, this officer, by the advice of the governor-general Peynier, who had succeeded Duchilleau, did not await the proposed investigation, but withdrew to France.

Whatever was emblematic of the revolution

\* Histoire d'Hayti, pp. 176, 177.

was hailed with transport in the colony; the national colours were adopted with enthusiasm, and the militia assimilated to the national guard of France. But in the midst of all this transport, there were apprehensions of insurrection; and on a ridiculous rumour of the revolt of three thousand negroes, the national guard marched out from the Cape, and returned without having seen an enemy. This report was injurious, as it suggested to the slaves the possibility of the reported event being realized.

The free-people of colour, though peaceful, were not inattentive to passing events: they sent a deputation to France, to claim their natural rights from the legislature. That deputation appeared on the 22d of October, 1789, at the bar of the National Assembly, with a statement of their grievances—presented six millions of livres to France—and declared their constituents to be ready to contribute one-fifth of their property to liquidate the national debt.

The President of the Assembly assured them “that no part of the nation ever reclaimed, in vain, their rights from the Assembly of Representatives of the French people.”

It was about this time that M. Charles de Lameth, one of the deputies, made his well-known declaration:—

“ I am one of the greatest proprietors in St. Domingo ; but I declare to you that, were I to lose all I possess, I should prefer it, rather than not recognise the principles that justice and humanity have consecrated: I declare myself in favour of the admission of the mixed races into the administrative assemblies, and of the liberty of the blacks.”

Such declarations appear to have inspired confidence in the coloured population, who, thenceforward began to press their claims in the colony itself, though with little success; for one of their number, one Lacombe, was executed at the Cape for having signed a petition beginning, “ In the name of the Most Holy Trinity ;” and in the west, M. Ferrand de Baudiere, who had been seneschal of the Petit Goave, was murdered in a popular sedition, because he had drawn up a petition for his coloured neighbours, claiming political privileges. The “ petits blancs ” had their full share in these transactions, according to general report.

Some parishes, however, did concede to the free-coloured population the right of assisting at the primary assemblies; but on its being required that, in addition to the civic oath, they should take another to respect the whites, a

refusal was given and arms taken up ; tranquillity was, however, re-established without bloodshed.

Scarcely was the public irritation allayed, when it was again excited by the decree of the National Assembly of the 8th March 1790. By this decree the general principle of self-legislation was conceded ; but there being no mention of the mixed races, they were excluded by a limited interpretation of its import. At the time of its arrival, two hundred and thirteen representatives of the colony had met at St. Mark's, and created themselves into a General Assembly ; and one of their first acts was a declaration that all the whites would prefer death to sharing political rights with " a bastard and degenerate race ;" and they voted themselves the only lawful representatives of the colony. On the 28th of May they issued a declaration of their rights, which many moderate members refused to sign, and withdrew. Freed from their embarrassing presence, they proceeded to organise committees of war, of marine, and even of diplomacy ; and ventured to summon the heads of the colonial government.

The governor-general Peynier, finding his authority to totter, endeavoured to uphold it by

secretly encouraging the coloured party, who, under such sanction, did not omit to press their pretensions.

From these dissensions there arose two governments; one consisting of the governor-general, assisted by the superior council of Port-au-Prince; and the other of the General Assembly. The latter attempted to settle the dispute by voting their opponents to be traitors, opened the ports to all nations, and organised troops, holding out inducement to those in the king's service to abandon their colours. They also succeeded in corrupting the crew of the *Leopard*, a fifty-gun ship, then in the bay of Port-au-Prince.

These acts of violence induced the governor to dissolve the General Assembly, alleging the treasonable acts as the cause of doing so. Violent proceedings on both sides followed, and at last the Assembly embarked in a body on board the *Leopard* for France, to lay their grievances before the National Assembly. On their departure the governor convoked the primary assemblies; but some did not meet, and others re-elected their old deputies.



## CHAPTER II.

Arrival of Ogé—Failure of enterprise—Capture—Trial—Execution—Insurrections in the West and South—General Assembly repair to France—Conduct condemned—Decrees annulled—Progress of revolution—Murder of Colonel Mauduit—Flight of General Blanchelande—Conflicting decrees respecting civil rights—Slave insurrection—Organisation of revolters—Discord of whites and coloured parties—Interference of mother country—Commissioners—Partial success of their measures.

WHILE the effects of these events were still agitating the public mind, a new character was given to the dissensions by the appearance at Cape François of Vincent, or as he is called by some, James Ogé. This individual was one of the commissioners selected from their body by the people of colour in St. Domingo, and sent to France to urge their political claims. Failing in this expectation, and driven by pecuniary difficulties, he came to

London, whence he proceeded to the United States, and finally landed at Cape François, under the name of Poissac, with (as the French writers allege) the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and of knight of the order of the Lion,\* both of which he had purchased from the Prince of Limbourg. His proceedings had been so watched by the agents of the club Massiac, that they were all known to the local authorities, and even his portrait had been transmitted, to verify his identity. He proceeded, on landing, to Dondon, his native place, and joined a person of his own caste named Chavane, and collected a force of two hundred men, with which they marched upon "Grande Rivière." There he established his head-quarters, from which he addressed a letter to the President of the Assembly, calling upon that body to recognise the decree of the 28th March. In this letter there was much feebleness and vanity: but one addressed to the military commandant

\* The French writers allege a participation, in sending out Ogé for revolutionary purposes, to the Paris and London committee for the abolition of the slave trade, and an active agency to Mr. Clarkson. On the application of a common friend, that gentleman was so obliging as to furnish me with the most satisfactory refutation, in four letters, which in justice I give. See Appendix, note (R.)



was short and energetic. The only reply from either of these parties was to send out Colonel Mauduit with a body of six hundred men, who were completely routed. Colonel Cambefort, with one thousand five hundred men, succeeded in defeating and dispersing this handful of insurgents. Ogé, with his brother and the two brothers Chavane, fled into the Spanish territory; but on being claimed by the French authorities, they were surrendered by the Spanish governor, Don Joachim Garcia. After a trial which lasted for two months, these unhappy men were convicted and sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, and their property confiscated. This cruel punishment was carried into effect in the front of the cathedral on the 9th of March, 1791, in the presence of the Assembly; and it appears to have destroyed all confidence between the white and coloured people.

Partial insurrections took place in the west and south, nearly at the same time with that of Ogé; but they were speedily repressed. It was in that of Cayes that Rigaud, who eventually played so conspicuous a part in the subsequent contests, first appeared.

During the progress of these operations, the members of the General Assembly who had

embarked in the *Leopard*, reached France, and had been summoned to the bar of the National Assembly, that the charges against them, and their defence, might be heard. After a protracted discussion, it was decreed, on the 12th of October, 1790, that the General Assembly, having been guilty of unconstitutional acts, was suppressed; that the members were deprived of their seats in the Colonial Assembly, for which a new election was to take place; that their decrees (including those affecting the free persons of colour) were annulled; and to enforce obedience, among other precautions, the king was requested to send out two ships of the line, and a sufficient number of troops of the line, to maintain order in the colony.

The arrival of this decree in St. Domingo was a signal for fresh commotion. Many of the primary assemblies refused to recognise the abolition of the General Assembly, and re-elected the expelled members. But the chief difficulty arose from the right given to the coloured population to vote.

While these passions were most active, the two ships of the line, "*Le Fougueux*" and "*Le Borée*," with two frigates, arrived at Port-au-Prince with the second battalions of the regiment of Artois and Normandy. Blanchelande,

who now exercised the functions of governor, was desirous of landing the troops at Cape Nicholas Mole, on the ground that no preparation had been made for their reception at Port-au-Prince. His real object was to avoid the contagion of popular feeling; but emissaries from the shore got access to the troops, and by circulating a fabricated decree of the 17th of December, which, if correct, would have rendered that of the 12th of October perfectly nugatory, promoted so mutinous a spirit among the troops, that they sent a deputation to the governor to inquire into the causes of his having ordered them to the Mole; and so thoroughly subverted was all discipline, that to convince the deputation that he was acting under orders from France, he was weak enough to exhibit his secret instructions, granting at the same time a delay of three days, previous to sailing to the place of their destination. This delay was fatal: open mutiny was the consequence; for the troops landed in spite of the governor, and refused to act with those soldiers known to be devoted to the government. The provincial assembly of the west resumed its sittings, under the title of the New Municipality. Mauduit, alternately the idol and the object of detestation of the populace, recommended the

flight of Blanchelande, and ventured alone to oppose the storm; but notwithstanding his gallantry, his known services, and the veneration with which he had been regarded by all parties, in the hour of trial he was deserted by his own soldiers, who with unparalleled audacity called upon him to apologise on his knees to the national guard, for having at some previous time deprived them of their colours. He gave no answer; but baring his breast, exposed it to the multitude: he fell, pierced with a thousand wounds, and in despite of the efforts of many respectable individuals, his mutilated remains were insulted, and torn to pieces by a ferocious populace. The only honour paid to his memory was by his faithful black servant Pierre, which has been already recorded. Such an act performed by a Roman would have placed poor Pierre among the objects of general admiration; but his tale is scarcely known, even within the scene of its action; nor do I know that it has ever awakened among the mawkish sentimentalists of the day, a single regret for this high-minded though untutored man.

M. Caradeux, who has been already mentioned, after the melancholy fate of Mauduit, usurped the authority of General Blanchelande, and assumed the title of captain-general of the

national guard ; and the functions of all the different public officers were also usurped by adventurers, among whom was one Pralato, a Maltese sailor.

Owing to some ambiguity in the instructions that had accompanied the decree of the 8th of March, 1789, the free people of colour had been excluded from any share either in the elections or in the representation ; and even after the decree of the 12th of October, 1790, they were only admitted to the primary assemblies. The Constituent Assembly of France, ignorant of the weakness of the colonial executive, and determined at any risk to realise their views, removed every doubt that existed respecting the rights of the coloured caste, as defined the preceding October ; and on the 15th of May, 1791, decided that men of mixed blood, of all shades, born of free persons, should be admissible to the colonial assemblies. This decree, while it gratified the party benefited, excited the most marked expression of disapproval from their opponents. All the parishes protested against its execution, each rivalling the other in the vehemence of their language : the civic oath was rejected, and the colony was, in short, in a state of actual revolt. The parish of Gros Morne went so far as to

put forth a highly inflammatory paper, pledging the inhabitants to repel by force any attempt against what they deemed their rights.

Blanchelande, who had retired to the Cape, in order to propitiate the Assembly of the North, made known to that body a letter from him to the minister of marine, in which he had stated his intention to suspend the operation of the obnoxious law until he should receive definitive orders.

These contradictory measures essentially promoted the heart-burnings of the conflicting parties. The local assemblies suspended their proceedings, and a new colonial assembly was convoked, to which the deposed members of the former meeting at St. Mark were re-elected. The new assembly met at Cape François, and M. Cadusch was chosen its president.

The seeds of discontent that had been so extensively sown, now began to germinate: the coloured party, though silent, appear to have felt deeply, while the slaves were led to reflect on their own condition. Various insurrectionary movements in the west broke out; but they were soon quelled, and were followed by very sanguinary proceedings. M. Caradeux particularly distinguished himself in this work of death. General Lacroix gives an extract of a



letter characterising the man:—" Si l'on est embarrassé par couper les têtes, on appellera le citoyen Général Caradeux (Commandant des districts du Port-au-Prince), qui en a fait sauter une cinquantaine sur l'habitation Auboy, dans le tems qu'il en était fermier, et qui, afin qu'on n'en ignorât, les fichait sur des piques, le long des haies de son habitation, en genre de palmiers."—A wretched pre-eminence in atrocity!

Scarcely was this insurrection suppressed, when another of a more formidable character broke out in the North. At first one estate was burnt, and the white overseer of another murdered; but immediately after the more matured plan was carried into effect on the estate named Turpin, under a negro from one of the British West India Islands, called Boukman. On the same night (22d of August, 1791) the slaves on four other estates rose and joined this leader, and that melancholy night devoted to death the sleeping whites without distinction of age or sex, and destroyed the plantations by fire. The inhabitants of the Cape were apprized of the work of destruction by the columns of flame, and as if to countenance the horrors that were transacted without the walls, they assassinated several people of colour. The Assembly provided places of refuge for the sur-

vivors, all of whom called for arms, to be employed against their common enemy. In four days a third of the province of the North was only a heap of ruins.

It is impossible here to detail all the contests, or the disgraceful scenes that occurred; it is enough to record, that the same discord prevailed where unanimity was so essential, and the same mutual distrust which had so powerfully conduced to the destruction of the two leading parties.

The new assembly assumed the style of the Colonial Assembly, refused to communicate the troubles to the mother country, and appealed to the Earl of Effingham, the governor of Jamaica, for succour. The assistance obtained from that quarter was smaller than was expected, owing to a want of means. Mr. Bryan Edwards, who had visited Cape François, on his return to Jamaica, attempted to raise a loan for the relief of the French colonists, though without success. In the mean time the dissensions, instead of being calmed, became more vehement, and the black forces acquired force and consistency: they designated themselves "*Gens du Roi*;" and the negro-general Jean François took the title of Grand Admiral of France, and his lieutenant Biassou, that



of generalissimo of the conquered country. General Blanchelande attempted to reclaim them; but they replied, in a letter of considerable length, that "it was too late." It is asserted that the Spanish colonists, and some refugee French loyalists, encouraged and assisted these projects; and, in support of this opinion, a letter is quoted by the French writers, written by a Spanish functionary, and found on the plantation Gallifet, when the negroes were expelled from it. The atrocities committed on all sides during a succession of sanguinary contests are dreadful; but as they do not throw any light on the progress of the revolution, I gladly omit the details. The priests are accused of having sanctioned the murderous proceedings of the negro chiefs, and several were executed. The spirit of dissension did not confine itself within the French lines: Jeannot, who had acquired considerable reputation for his military achievements as well as for his cruelties, was attacked by Jean François, and put to death. Boukman also fell; but though success appeared to attend the measures of the government, the seeds of self-destruction were daily planted by the internal jealousies of the planters and the functionaries. An evil interpretation was given to whatever was done, for

the complaining parties seem only to have acted from the impulse of passion. Fixed principles were never thought of, and every passing event afforded a fresh topic of discontent to men prepared to be dissatisfied. The dissolution of a society so circumstanced and so influenced became inevitable.

The coloured party in the West and South acted more in concert, and placed themselves under the orders of General Beauvais, who had at an early period distinguished himself by his talents: Croix des Bouquets was their principal post. To disperse this assemblage, parties of armed men were sent from Port-au-Prince, but they were disgracefully routed.

This defeat led to conferences, which terminated in the signature, by the respective chiefs, of what is called the "Concordat de Croix des Bouquets," by which it was agreed that thenceforward the garrison of Port-au-Prince should be composed of equal numbers of the two parties; that the Colonial Assembly should be recomposed on the principles of the decree of the 15th of May preceding; that any opposition to this should be overcome by joint force; that the judges of Ogé and his fellow-sufferers should be voted infamous. This was signed on the 23d of October, 1791; and in conformity

with it, on the following day General Beauvais, at the head of fifteen hundred of his troops, entered the city, accompanied by M. Caradeux and his officers.

The Assembly had sought aid from Jamaica; but that being granted on a small scale, recourse was had to Martinique, from which no supplies could be procured, as the disposable troops had been sent back to France only a few days before.

While these transactions were going on in the colony, the legislature in France, with singular improvidence and disregard of consistency, again changed their views of colonial administration, and on the 24th of September repealed the decree of the 15th of May, in which the colonists were on the eve of acquiescing. The disputed questions were again agitated in the local assembly; and in despite of the efforts of some of the most eminent members, it was determined to suspend the fulfilment of their engagements until after the coloured party "should have conducted by all the means in their power to the extinction of rebellion." On the other hand, the execution of the concordat was vigorously urged; and three out of the four sections of Port-au-Prince had agreed to complete their engagements, when discord

was again excited by a quarrel between some artillery-men and a free black: the latter was taken to prison, from which he was conveyed by the soldiery, and hanged on a lamp-post. This was resented by his comrades, who fired upon and killed or wounded an artillery-man, when passing their barracks: the individuals implicated in this were demanded, and General Beauvais refused to give them up. After some fruitless discussions, force was meditated, and Beauvais retired to the mountains; and the unfortunate city was nearly destroyed by fire.

The *Créux des Bouquets* once more became a scene of activity, and the concordat was formally renewed with several of the communes that had formerly concurred in it. Some attempts were made to engage Port-au-Prince to comply; but the negotiation was suddenly broken off on the arrival of three commissioners from France, Mirbeck, Roume, and St. Leger, who were deputed by the government of France to maintain good order; but the inadequacy of their powers soon became evident, and their authority despised, notwithstanding their attempts to obtain popularity, and consequent influence with the local legislature. They then published a decree of the 28th of September, which granted a general amnesty to all free

persons. This was urged by the insurgent chiefs, and rejected by the Assembly, under the pretext that that body could not communicate with men armed in violation of all law. Outrage was threatened by the revolted chiefs, and some conferences were brought about through the intervention of the commissaries ; but to no purpose. The defects of their commission were detected by Toussaint L'Ouverture, who then first appeared in a conspicuous point of view.

The Assembly, not satisfied with the difficulties of their situation, seemed resolved to involve themselves in others of greater magnitude. An order was given to disarm the whole of the coloured population—a population which, in the language of a French historian, “had to that moment fought against the blacks with all the zeal that the interests of property can inspire.” The immediate effect was, that all the parties affected by this impolitic decree threw themselves (with the exception of those at the Cape) into the negro camp, and the work of death and destruction recommenced with new force. But all warning appears to have been lost ; for instead of applying to the emergencies of the period, the assembly employed themselves in idle discussions respecting the validity of the

powers of the commissioners, and rescinded the convention of the Croix des Bouquets. The expeditions sent out to clear the country were ineffectual, and Mirbeck, with St. Leger, finding themselves without any power, returned to France. Roume alone remained. He was a man of talent; but from the concurrent testimony of various persons, his personal history was one continued monstrosity in morals. He professed to remain for the purpose of counter-acting counter-revolutionary plans.

It will be recollected that there had been passed, by the National Assembly in France, a decree extending civil privileges to all free persons—that that decree had been abrogated, and that there had been a corresponding spirit at work in the colony itself. A new attempt was made by the legislature of the mother country, to interfere in the dissensions which had been kept alive by her own vacillating councils. A decree of the 4th of April, 1792, renewed the equality of rights to all freemen, and revoked that of the 24th of September, 1791. It would have been wise to have steadily legislated, and maintained the law when enacted; but the changing of principles and law so frequently within fourteen months, must have shaken the confidence of all



parties. The immediate effect of this last proceeding was a hollow accommodation between the two leading parties by Blanchelande and Roume, through the means of Pinchinat, a coloured man of considerable talents, who was the president of the Council of Peace and Union at St. Mark.

Although the coloured party were satisfied with this restoration of the first law, conceding to them political privileges, they did not enter into the plans of attacking the revolted slaves with the enthusiasm that was anticipated. They desired, as preliminaries, that peace should be established; that the Assembly of the West should be dissolved, and its principal members "*deported*;" and that the garrison of Port-au-Prince should be disbanded, and their place occupied by the coloured militia. These conditions were accepted by the governor and the commissary. Alarmed at this, the infamous Caradeux fled to the United States with sixty slaves; Borel, who was called to succeed him, very narrowly escaped with his head; and the regular government was re-established at Port-au-Prince. About this period the practice of emancipating the leading revolted slaves was adopted, thus giving a premium to insurrection.

General Blanchelande next proceeded to the

South, with a view of propitiating the party headed by General Rigaud ; but doubts being entertained of the governor's sincerity owing to his previous conduct, he failed ; and after an unsuccessful attack on the Platons near Cayes, he was obliged to quit the South, leaving it a prey to blood and spoliation. On reaching the Cape, he found the insurrection raging to the East, where it was said to be fomented by the neighbouring Spaniards.



## CHAPTER III.

Arrival of new Commissioners—Imprudent discussions—Return of Ailhaud, Sonthonax, and Polverel, with full power—Revolution advances—Pierrot and Macaya—Liberty of slaves proclaimed, first by Sonthonax, afterwards by Polverel—English invasion—New Commissioners—Toussaint L'Ouverture—History—Sonthonax sent to France—General Hedouville—Contests between Toussaint and Rigaud—Attempts of Consuls—Colonial constitution—French invasion—Bloody war—Success of Leclerc—Expulsion of Rochambeau.

ON the 19th of September, the succours which had been promised by France arrived, accompanied by two new commissioners, Polverel and Ailhaud, who were associated with Sonthonax. Their powers were unlimited; and their first declaration before the Colonial Assembly was, that they would recognise only two classes of inhabitants in St. Domingo; free men, without distinction of colour, and slaves. This declaration gave confidence to the new

citizens ; while the arrival of six thousand efficient troops assured the proprietors that their properties would be protected. These circumstances were favourable, and the colony might have been saved ; but the commissioners, probably influenced by personal motives, instead of acting with vigour against the insurgents, allowed them to gain a head, and occupied themselves with comparatively insignificant matters. They listened to recriminatory complaints from different parties, expelled General Blanchelande, and dissolved the Colonial Assembly ; while, by a formal arrêté, all its misdeeds were excused.

The intelligence of the melancholy events of the 10th of August gave rise to fresh disorders. The royalists aimed at a counter-revolution ; but during their hesitation to direct the troops that they had gained, the commissioners, at the head of eighteen hundred men from Martinique, decided their conduct, and thus destroyed the plans that had been anxiously formed.

The commissioners then named the too celebrated General Rochambeau as governor. Expeditions were sent against the rebels ; each of the worthy agents of the republic had an allotted fort ; and before separating, in order to prove their claims to having prepared lists of

proscribed persons, many of whom, though most estimable, were there inscribed because they were suspected of a secret leaning to the ancient regime,—Sonthonax and Polverel remained in the island, the one in the province of the North, the other in that part of the West; but Ailhaud had scarcely visited the south, when he embarked for France, from the conviction, it is supposed, that his powers, as well as those of his colleagues, were inadequate to the arduous duties assigned to them.

From the time that Sonthonax and Polverel were invested with full authority, their policy was decided. They formed a commission, which they called “*Intermédiaire*,” consisting of twelve members, six of whom were white, and six of colour. This council supplied the place of the colonial assembly, and filled up all vacancies, whether military or civil. A slight commotion among the whites at the Cape being suppressed, the united efforts of the two leading parties were directed to the overthrow of the common enemy and the revolted blacks. The first attempt was successful at the “*Platons*,” where Blanchelande had been routed by a party of soldiers under the command of Commandant Harty, who forced the intrenched camp.

Rochambeau having left St. Domingo to assume the command at Martinique, General Lavaux, a nobleman of old family, was appointed by the commissioners commander-in-chief. The vigorous measures of this officer restored a temporary calm ; but discredit was thrown on this success by the arrest of the Abbé de la Haye, the curé of Grande Rivière, and of his brother curé at Dondon, and the meditated execution of both, on account of having officiated as almoners of the leaders of the revolt. Notwithstanding much urgency, Sonthonax was merciful, and for once wise ; for by the agency of those whose lives he had saved, he obtained an extensive influence over the insurgents.

While these proceedings were in progress, Borel usurped the supreme authority at Port-au-Prince. This was however soon interrupted by the combined efforts of Generals Lavalle and Beauvais ; and the commissioners entered the city without capturing Borel, at whose escape they are suspected of having connived, lest it should have been necessary to have made an example of so turbulent though influential a person.

The risings in the North and South, in spite of several pacific overtures, gained ground until the month of May, 1793 ; when Rigaud,

who had been sent to repress the movements among the whites at Grande Anse, was defeated. At this conjuncture Galbaud arrived, invested with the character of commandant-general ; and finding the authority of the commissioners to be wavering, he endeavoured to subvert it entirely. This attempt led to sanguinary contests, which terminated in the conflagration of the Cape, and the expulsion of Galbaud. The commissioners called to their aid, not only all the felons in the prisons, but the black insurgent chiefs Pierrot and Macaya. Having been thus far successful, the commissioners aimed at a permanent union with their leaders ; but although the latter became the medium of communication with Jean François and Biassou, he resolutely resisted all the blandishments of Polverel ; and in reply to all the seductive allurements held out to induce him to range under the republican banners, he is said to have uniformly used the following exquisite jargon :—

“ Je suis le sujet de trois rois ; du roi de Congo, maître de tous les noirs ; du Roi de France, qui représente mon père ; et du roi d’Espagne, qui représente ma mère. Ces trois rois sont les descendans de ceux qui, conduits par une étoile, ont été adorer l’Homme Dieu.

Si je passois au service de la république, je serois peut-être entraîné à faire la guerre contre mes frères, les sujets de ces trois rois, à qui j'ai promis fidélité." \*

It was supposed by General Lacroix that equality had no charms in the eyes of these men, on whom he asserts the Spanish government had heaped honours and military rank. It has been said that Jean François was raised to the rank of a grandee of Spain, and that he died a few years ago in Madrid ; whether true or not, I do not know ; but it has been denied by some highly respectable Spaniards to whom I have applied for information.

The affairs of the commissioners becoming more involved, Sonthonax, finding himself hemmed in at the Cape with only one thousand eight hundred men, by about thirty thousand insurgents, proclaimed the general emancipation of all the slaves. Delpech (who had been appointed successor to Ailhaud) and Polverel disapproved of this measure ; but on the death of the former, the latter published in the South a proclamation to the same effect with that of his colleague, and shortly afterwards issued

\* Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Revolution de St. Domingo, par le Gen. Baron Pamphile de Lacroix, tom. i. p. 253.



his regulations for enforcing labour ; of which some notice will be given in a subsequent chapter.

These measures seriously affected the attachment of many of the colonial proprietors to the government of the mother country, of which the counter-revolutionists readily availed themselves, and made proposals to Sir Adam Williamson, the governor of Jamaica, to place the island under the protection of Great Britain. Colonel Charmilly, since too noted in Spanish history, was the French negotiator. In an evil hour for us, his representations were believed, his propositions accepted, and a small force sent, in September 1793, under Colonel White-locke, to occupy the distant posts of Jeremie and Cape Nicolas Mole. As much had been promised, so much was expected from the co-operation of the inhabitants ; but little was realised, even among the royalists ; and after various struggles, during nearly five years, the British troops under the late Sir Thomas Maitland evacuated first Port-au-Prince, and lastly, Cape Nicholas Mole, leaving the bones of thousands of our ill-fated countrymen, and an enormous treasure, without gaining any thing more than the reputation of profuse expense, which endears even now the British service to the Haitian. Shortly after the landing of the

British force, the commissioners were conveyed as prisoners to France, and tried at the bar of the national convention, on charges exhibited against them by the colonists. Laveaux was left in command, and he had the merit of withdrawing from the Spanish service, and of engaging in that of the republic.

An important event now took place. The treaty of Basle, signed the 22d July 1795, between France and Spain, conveyed the sovereignty of the Eastern part of the island to the French republic.

The commissioners were acquitted by the convention. Polverel died; and Sonthonax returned with ample powers, accompanied by four new colleagues, Roume, already mentioned, Geraud, Leblanc, and Raimond. Roume was sent to the city of Santo Domingo, Sonthonax succeeded in neutralising the influence of the two next, which induced them to quit the country, and Raimond remained as his sole associate in the old French colony.

Toussaint, who had been gradually advancing in political weight, having obtained from Sonthonax the rank of general of division, now threw off the disguise in which he had invested his extensive intrigues and ambitious projects. But still he displayed a remarkable



degree of caution. Before entering on his public acts at this time, it will be well to sketch the history of this "child and champion" of the trans-Atlantic revolution.

This extraordinary person was born a slave at Breda, a plantation very near to Cape François, belonging to Count Noë. From the occupation of a carter he arrived at that of a postilion. On this estate he lived until he was above fifty years of age, when the insurrection called him to perform a more elevated character. While in his humble station, he had been taught to read and write, some say by a Capuchin—he himself alleged by a non-commissioned officer of the regiment of the Cape. On joining the insurrectionary bands of Jean François, he bore the ludicrous title of "physician to the armies of the king," while in fact he held a military command. He was afterwards aid-de-camp both to Biassou and to Jean François, and eventually obtained the rank of colonel in the Spanish service, in which he acquired great respect for the regularity with which he discharged his religious duties. The Marquess D'Hermona, the Spanish general, in speaking of him, declared "that God, in this terrestrial globe, could not commune with a purer spirit." Through the medium of the Abbé de la Haye,

he was seduced by General Laveaux to betray his Spanish associates ; and at the time when Hermona's confidence was most unbounded, he deserted to the republican party, taking with him a considerable body of his fellows. And to mark his zeal, taking a select party, he traversed with rapidity, and established the republican banner, on all the points in the North where that of Spain had previously floated.

His subsequent history is that of the island ; and he was endowed with many indisputable qualifications for the part he had determined to play. Possessed of an iron constitution, he was enabled to bear any fatigue : he was capable of great and continued mental exertion ; while his dissimulation, perfidy, and cruelty, are described as knowing no bounds, though always veiled under the mask of religion, charity, and meekness. Using his profound knowledge of the negro character, without ever betraying himself, he acquired an almost superhuman influence. General Lacroix says, and I have never heard it contradicted even by his contemporaries in Haiti, that “ the soldiers regarded him as a superior being, and the cultivators prostrated themselves before him as before a divinity. All his generals trembled before him, (Dessalines did not dare to look in

his face, and all the world trembled before his generals"—a short but intelligent description of the mode of government then in vogue.

Toussaint has been accused of licentiousness in his morals in after-life, though abstemious in his food; and it is asserted that, while he used all the terrors of Catholic superstition to augment his authority, he secretly communicated to the directory that his measures were only dictated by policy.

Notwithstanding these statements, there can be but little doubt that he would have been a distinguished man in any country in which a field for his exertions had existed: the facts of his elevation attest this; but the confirmation is to be found in the measures he pursued to maintain order and industry, by which only he could ensure the independence of his country.

In order to be freed from the presence of his early friends, Sonthonax and Laveaux, he procured their election as deputies from the colony to the legislative body in France—an honour that could not be rejected. With every external demonstration of respect, these two personages were dismissed from St. Domingo; and many black officers who disapproved of such measures, accompanied them to Europe.

Raimond alone remained of the last party of

five commissioners, and he co-operated with Toussaint. Rigaud still was in arms for the republic in the South, without coalescing with the black leader. Notwithstanding the external demonstrations of cordiality and confidence on the part of the directory, it would seem that they feared the ascendancy of their general-in-chief, and sent out General Hedouville (who had previously been employed in some delicate missions) as their agent. This officer, notwithstanding his reputation, committed a capital fault in marking his distrust in his new colleague by landing at the city of Santo Domingo ; and some ill-timed remarks of his staff confirming Toussaint's suspicions, led to the assassination (it is asserted by his orders) of two of Hedouville's aides-de-camp. The attempt that the general made to reconcile Rigaud and Toussaint also failed, owing probably to the mutual distrust of all parties. After the British had evacuated, in 1798, their last stronghold, Toussaint appears to have thought it unnecessary to retain his disguise, at least in the colony. An insurrection was excited among the cultivators, and Hedouville was obliged to embark. In an artful letter to the directory, the now uncontrolled general-in-chief laid claim to having re-established order

and regularity, after they had been thoroughly subverted.

Hedouville left a fatal legacy to Haiti. Although Toussaint had long held the commission of general-in-chief, the same rank was by him conferred on Rigaud; thus creating an additional motive for contention between these two leaders and their respective followers. It was in vain that Roume (who had returned from the East) endeavoured to reconcile these two parties; for each giving way to the most unrestrained passions, carried on a war of extermination, which ended early in 1800 in the expulsion of Rigaud, and the firm establishment of his rival's authority. After the discomfiture of the Mulatto party, Toussaint despatched his satellite Dessalines to chastise the great body of that unfortunate people; and the atrocities which he is described to have perpetrated in the South are said to have exceeded even those of his chief. It is recorded that upwards of ten thousand persons of both sexes were immolated during his expedition, with every refinement in cruelty.

Previous to these successes, the consular government had been established in France; and it would seem that Bonaparté wished to regain that influence, the decline of which had

been clearly proved by the expulsion of Hedouville; and to attain this, he sent out Vincent, (who had been despatched by Roume to inform the directory of the sanguinary and desolating warfare between the rival chiefs,) and General Michel, both of whom were associated in the commission with Raimond. Toussaint, suspicious of fraud, arrested both his own friend Vincent and his colleague, but liberated them on their arrival at the Cape, where they communicated to him the change of government in France, as well as the confirmation by the consuls of his rank of general-in-chief of the army of St. Domingo. This confirmation was naturally grateful to the black leader; but he distrusted the proclamation of the first consul to the citizens of St. Domingo, announcing the revolution at home; promising the formation of laws suitable to their condition; and pledging himself to respect the liberty and equality of the blacks. Confidence could not be inspired, even by the flattering conclusion of the proclamation:—  
“ Braves noirs ! souvenez vous que le peuple Français seul reconnaît vos droits.” The scheme of legislating in France for St. Domingo was probably the principal cause of dissatisfaction: be that as it may, Michel was treated with so



much coldness, that he returned to Europe, leaving his two colleagues behind.

Being now freed from domestic rivals, Toussaint began to develop his schemes of personal aggrandisement; he received with kindness the old colonists, restored the Gregorian calendar, in opposition to that of the republican style; attached to his person white officers; treated the clergy with unbounded reverence; and surrounded himself with a chosen body-guard of one thousand eight hundred men, dressed in the costume of the old "gardes du corps" of France. He selected, without reference to complexion, the most efficient officers for every branch of the public service, and promoted agriculture both for home use and foreign export, on the last of which he well knew his pecuniary resources depended. Under the pretext of enforcing the treaty of Basle, he announced in 1800 to the Spanish governor, Don Joachim Garcia, his intention of taking possession of the Spanish colony; and in spite of the Spaniard's moderation and the arrival of the French vessel with dispatches (which brought, as was expected, orders against such an attempt), he pressed forward at the head of an irresistible force, and occupied the whole of the Spanish

colony. The messenger with the dispatches was then permitted to deliver his unavailing instructions.

The next step in his career was, with the aid of Borgella,\* Pascal and others, to promulgate the constitution of the colony of St. Domingo, (without the sanction of the French government,) by which he was declared governor for life. But still the title of colony was retained.

He sent home Vincent with this act of independence, in spite of the most honorable and manly remonstrances: but all was unavailing, for the negro chief's decision had been taken. The peace of Amiens being concluded, the ruler of France was left at full liberty to pursue his colonial views, and to oppose the independent projects of the governor of the colony. But to effect this there was more knowledge requisite than even Napoleon possessed. Toussaint had formed and maintained a respectable military establishment, the discipline of which, according to Lacroix, was enforced with an inexorable rigour—life and obedience, or death and disobedience being the alternatives. The well-doing of the superior officers was secured by the system of farming which he had established, and according

\* See Appendix, note (S.)



to Lacroix, the whole were controlled by the discreet use of certain words. "They were told," says that distinguished officer, "that *they were free*; and *they believed it*, because, by a series of adroit insinuations, they ranked above the cultivators, and every soldier was right who complained of a black who was not a soldier. The *supremacy of the military negro caused him to be feared and obeyed.*"\*

The anxiety of the French ruler to re-acquire an ascendancy in the West Indian Archipelago led him to fit out, early in December 1801, an expedition under the command of his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, against St. Domingo; the naval command being assigned to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse. They arrived at the end of January 1802, and, early in February, Cape François, then under the orders of Christophe, was summoned. Christophe refused, by the orders of Toussaint, to receive the French armament; but finding resistance vain, he set fire to the city, (giving the example by kindling his own house,) and evacuated it, leaving nothing but ruins to the invaders.

Fort Dauphin and Port-au-Prince soon fell into the hands of the French. An attempt was

\* Memoires, par Lacroix, tom. i. p. 408.

then fruitlessly made to induce Toussaint to abandon his own cause, by the mediation of his children, who, with their tutor Coesnon, had gone from France : the interview, as described by Lacroix, was touching, and marked the stern character of the negro general.

In the West and South, the war was maintained with vigour ; nor was it until after much bloodshed, and the memorable defence of Crête à Pierrot, which baffled the repeated attacks of the French general that Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe submitted to Le Clerc. Shortly after that submission the former was treacherously arrested for alleged treasons, and sent to France, where he perished in the Château de Joux—"Crispé de froid et des regrets," as it is expressed by Lacroix. Shortly after this most of the native leaders submitted ; but a succession of injudicious measures by Le Clerc, both towards the coloured officers and the black labourers, excited disgust : the defection of one chief was followed by that of another ; and the governor-general lived just long enough to witness the entire failure of all his objects. Montholon, in his *Memoirs*, gives some curious information respecting the blunders of this expedition.

Rochambeau succeeded in the command, and, by enormities that rivalled those of Dessalines,

soon alienated the few black and coloured partisans of France. After an unvarying succession of violence and crime on both sides, the French army were reduced to the last extremity, and had the alternative of capture by Dessalines, or of capitulation to the English squadron, which, in consequence of the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France, blockaded the harbour of Cape François under the orders of Commodore Loring. The memory of Rochambeau in Haiti is associated with all that is infamous; and even with some of his own countrymen it ranks very low. The cruelties described to have been perpetrated by him have produced an impression that can never be removed, and will long maintain that extreme jealousy of French advances, which may be considered an essential part of every Haitian's creed. The evacuation of the Cape took place on the 28th of November, 1803.\*

\* According to Lacroix, at the time of their expulsion, which may be considered final of the French, the actual loss of the expeditionary army by sickness, battle and murder, amounted to sixty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-one persons. Of forty-two general officers, seventy-five perished by violence: and of eleven general officers of the colonial force, nine perished miserably.

## CHAP. IV.

First establishment of independence—Dessalines, general-in-chief—Character—Treachery—Declaration of independence—Atrocity of Dessalines—Invasion of the East—Assumption of imperial dignity—Cruelties—Revolution—Establishment of two republics under Christophe and Petion—Christophe king—His character—Laws—Court—Nobility—Order of knighthood—Policy—Treasure—Death—Consequences.

THIS event may be considered as completing the second great epoch of the revolution of St. Domingo, in which its independence, as a separate state, was established *de facto*. Dessalines, as the senior officer, was chosen general-in-chief of the “indigene army.” He had been originally the slave of a free negro of his own name, and was unable either to read or write. His personal activity, courage, and military talents, are said to have been consider-

able ; but these were overbalanced by his ignorance, by an unrestrained cruelty, as well as by a most preposterous\* vanity. His private morals were execrable ; and the only person who appears to have exercised any kindly influence over him was his second wife, who was alive when I was at Port-au-Prince, respected by all who knew her, and honoured chiefly for the humanity with which she afforded protection, under the most critical circumstances, to every unfortunate being who needed it, without distinction of colour.

A short time after the evacuation of the French army appeared inevitable Dessalines, as one of his first acts as general-in-chief, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Cape François, “to drive away the fears” that the approaching change might produce, and to assure them, that the war had “no reference to the inhabitants of the colony ; and that he sought to insure the tranquillity of the inhabitants, of all colours.” He farther appealed to his conduct to the inhabitants of every class at

\* This passion displayed itself in a whimsical way, in exhibitions as a dancer, with which he gratified his countrymen. He always had a dancing-master in his suite to increase his accomplishments. The duty of instruction must have been analogous to that of teaching a tiger civilisation.

Jérémie, Cayes, and Port-au-Prince, as a "certain pledge of his good faith and honour." And he invited all who chose to stay to indulge their inclinations, and permitted all who desired it to accompany the French army.\*

On the eve of the evacuation another proclamation, bearing the names of Dessalines, Christophe, and Clervaux, was particularly addressed to the proprietary of St. Domingo, guaranteeing the lives and properties of all who had abandoned the notions of slavery, inviting those who had fled to return, and deploring the assassinations of many, from "the soldiery and labourers, blinded by a recollection of former wrongs."—"We sigh," says this perfidious document, "with every generous soul over their deplorable lot; and we declare to the universe, whatever evil intentioned people may say, that these murders have been committed against the will of our hearts."†

Although the independence was established, *de facto*, by the expulsion of Rochambeau and his army, yet it was not formally announced before the 1st of January, 1804, when the Act of Independence,‡ signed by all the generals,

\* Histoire d'Haiti, pp. 407, 408.

† Ibid. p. 410.

‡ See note (T) in Appendix.

was promulgated, and a proclamation bearing the name of Dessalines alone was issued. The summary of the former, as will be seen at the end of the volume, was, that “ the general-in-chief, having assembled all the leaders of the army, had explained that their true interests rendered it necessary to secure to the people of Haiti a stable government, and to secure the independence of their country ; that the generals had sworn to posterity—to the whole universe—to *renounce France for ever, and to die rather than live under her dominion.*” The proclamation\* was fuller. It declared that the expulsion of the French was not enough : that a last act of national authority was necessary to assert eternal liberty in their country, and to destroy all hope in the French of ever re-enslaving them : that independence or death ought to be their rallying cry : that nothing had been done, while the French name still stained the country : that every thing revived recollections of that “ barbarous people”—laws, manners, and even names of towns—while every thing showed that there was nothing in common among the two nations : that climate, colour, distance of one from the other,

\* See note (U) in Appendix.



all proved the fact. All ages, sexes, and conditions, were invoked to avenge the wrongs of their country on those who should attempt to deprive them of their acquired rights, particularly the French, whom they were called upon to put to death whenever they should dare to violate the "territory" of liberty. They were next urged to follow the example of those nations who, looking anxiously to futurity, and apprehensive of leaving to posterity an example of baseness, preferred extermination to slavery. The address recommended abstinence from any interference with their neighbours, *who, unlike themselves, had never suffered from the tyranny of their rulers, and had no vengeance to level against the authority that protected them*: peace with all the world except France. It called on the inhabitants to maintain their independence at any cost. It urged them to remember that for fourteen years Dessalines had sacrificed every thing for them—*relations, children, FORTUNE!* That his sole riches consisted in their liberty; that his name was held in abhorrence by all tyrants and lovers of slavery; and that if they should refuse or receive sullenly the laws dictated by their guardian genius, they would deserve "the fate of ungrateful people."

At this time the aboriginal name of Haiti was

adopted, and Dessalines was named governor-general for life. Thus established, he proceeded with less caution in his designs against the white colonists, many of whom, allured by his promises of protection, had remained, and others had returned, in the belief that these promises would have been held sacred. In the proclamation of the 1st of January there was enough to excite distrust; but it does not appear to have done so. The first serious misgivings are said to have been raised by a proclamation in the month of February, directing judicial proceedings against all those who had participated in the atrocities of Le Clerc and Rochambeau. The object was apparently to induce the entire population to revenge their friends. But public feeling did not go with him, and he then commenced a military expedition, with which he overran the principal towns, marking his footsteps with blood \* and slaughter.

The base treachery of the whole transaction was completed in a manner worthy of the au-

\* In the former volume, p. 9, an authentic instance is recorded of part of the system pursued at this time. I heard many others, which it is unnecessary to recount, as the proceedings are familiar to every one conversant with this period of Haitian history.

thor. A proclamation was issued, stating, that the French having been sufficiently punished, those who had escaped the butchery were invited to the principal square to receive certificates of protection. Many of the unhappy wretches who escaped obeyed the summons. They were all seized, conveyed to the place of execution, and shot.

A few of the clergy, medical men, and some others, amounting altogether to about one-tenth of the whole, were spared : and the 20th of April witnessed the last of these sanguinary outrages on humanity.

Many, and among the rest Christophe, highly disapproved of these proceedings ; but Dessalines boasted of them, and of the superiority of his mind to those *narrow views* that restrict retributive justice ; and even accused Toussaint of a want of fidelity to his own caste. He exultingly declares, “ Oui, nous avons rendu ces anthropophages guerre pour guerre, CRIME pour CRIME, OUTRAGE pour OUTRAGE. Oui, j’ai sauvé mon pays—j’ai vengé l’Amérique ! L’aveu que je fais à la face du ciel et de la terre, fait *mon orgueil* et *ma gloire* : quelle est pour moi la conséquence de l’opinion qu’auront de ma conduite mes contemporains et les généra-

tions futures ? J'ai fait mon devoir ; je m'approuve : cela me suffit."\*

The reason assigned to me for this horrible breach of faith was, that Dessalines wished to compromise all his countrymen so deeply with France, as to render any future connexion impossible. Others have said, that a promise of vengeance made to his army before the occupation of Cape François was thus cruelly redeemed. No motive, however, can lessen the horror with which the uncontrolled fury of this savage can be regarded.

The city of St. Domingo, which had fallen into the hands of a detachment of the French army before Toussaint's submission, still displayed the banner of the mother country. It therefore became an object of attention to Dessalines as soon as his massacre had been completed. He collected a force, and his entry into the Spanish territory was preceded by

\* This passage is extracted from the *Histoire D'Haiti* ; on the authority of which, confirmed by respectable native evidence in the republic, the above details rest. I never saw any copy of the proclamation, except in the work cited ; but as its authenticity was never denied by the most competent persons, it is fair to look upon it as genuine, especially as it corresponds with the character of the man.

a proclamation, accusing the unfortunate inhabitants of treason and of violation of treaties. He in person headed one corps d'armée, that penetrated by way of San Juan, while Clervaux advanced by the Northern frontier, as has been already mentioned. Both these corps formed a junction under the walls of the city of Santo Domingo, and vainly besieged it for some weeks ; a vigorous resistance having been made by General Ferrand, the governor. The unexpected appearance of a small French squadron led to a precipitate flight, and the retreat may still be traced by the wanton destruction that took place. Some notice of this has been already taken.

After Dessalines' return from this unhallowed expedition he intrigued for, and procured his own nomination as Emperor of Haiti :—he was consecrated on the 8th of October, 1804, by the capuchin Brelle, who was afterwards Christophe's first archbishop. A new constitution, after the abandonment of the colonial title of governor-general for that of emperor, was a necessary consequence ; and accordingly it was submitted to the approbation of the new-made monarch on the 20th of May 1805, by twenty-three generals, at the head of whom was Christophe : but it included Petion and all the

other general officers of the island. This constitution has been printed in the reports laid before the House of Commons last year,\* in pursuance of an address to his Majesty in 1828. Apparent provisions are made for the government in all its branches ; but the spirit of the legislators and their notions of liberty may be gathered from the 30th article, which runs thus : “ L’Empereur *fait, scelle, et promulgue* les lois ; nomme et révoque à sa volonté les ministres ; les généraux en chef de l’armée ; les conseillers d’état ; les généraux et autres agens de l’empire ; les officiers de l’armée, de terre et de mer ; les membres de les administrations locales ; les commissaires du gouvernement près les tribunaux ; les juges et autres fonctionnaires publics.” In short, the entire power was vested in the emperor, and he could of course delegate extraordinary authority to others. It was by this constitution that, for the first time, all whites were excluded from being or ever becoming proprietors. All Haitians too were to be called *blacks*, although a few whites had become citizens. The spirit of the times was strongly marked by the concluding article “ Au premier coup de canon

\* See communications received at the Foreign Office relative to Haiti.—Parliamentary Papers, 10th June 1828, p. 134.



d'alarme les villes disparaissent, et la nation est debout."

The cruelties committed almost daily by Dessalines soon undermined the devotion of his adherents ; and in 1806 a conspiracy was organised by Gerin, then secretary at war, and nicknamed ' Côte de fer,' Petion, and others. It is said (and it is also denied) that Christophe was a party to the plot, although he did not appear ; and, indeed, when it broke out prematurely in the South, he affected that vain attempts had been made to shake his fidelity. Dessalines, whose personal courage never seems to have deserted him, on learning what had occurred, immediately proceeded with a small force to Port-au-Prince, where he expected support from Petion. Though dissuaded from advancing, he persisted, and pressed forward, attended by only a few officers of his staff. At a short distance from Port-au-Prince, at a place called ' Pont Rouge,' on the 17th October, 1806, he fell into an ambuscade, when expecting to meet his own advanced-guard. Irritated, but not intimidated, he rode boldly up to the men to chastise them with his cane, when he fell pierced with balls, and his body was brutally mangled. Only one of his staff escaped, which he did by recognising, before he



had approached too nearly the troops of the South, who were awaiting the emperor.

The death of the despot once more set intriguers at work ; and the most prominent were Petion and Christophe. On the 27th December, 1806, deputies who affected to represent the people, but who had been in fact named through the influence of these two generals, assembled, and formed the constituent assembly. Gerin, soon disgusted, withdrew. The competition lay between Petion and Christophe, as the ostensible chiefs of the two great parties, though the seniority of the latter was in his favour. The constitution\* of 1806 was formed : it consisted of various articles, classed under thirteen heads, comprehending the principles on which the recent revolution had been founded. The first class may be regarded as declaratory : by its provisions slavery was for ever abolished ; the executive was declared to be elective, and not hereditary in any family ; the republic to be at peace with all her neighbours ; that the house of every man was his castle ; and that thenceforward no white man should hold landed property. The remaining twelve classes embraced the territorial divisions of the state ; the necessary qualifications for

\* See Appendix, note (V.)

citizenship ; the religion to be Roman Catholic ; the composition of the senate ; the duties and attributes of the president ; the formation of courts of law ; the organisation of the army ; the protection of agriculture and commerce ; the state of the finances ; and several minor points. Having adjusted these points, it became necessary to elect a chief. The presidency was offered to Christophe ; but it was so burdened with conditions, to which he would not assent, that he would not accept the office at the hands of the assembly ; but assuming the titles of president and generalissimo, he collected an army, and pushed on to Port-au-Prince. On the 1st January, 1807, he encountered Petion at a place called Cibert, about a league from the city ; a smart action ensued, which ended in the complete defeat of the Southern army. Their leader escaped with difficulty. Christophe then beleaguered the city for a fortnight, after which he withdrew to the North, the whole of which he successively subdued, until he extended his frontier from St. Mark to Mirebalais, where he came into contact with the Spanish boundary. On his return to the Cape he assembled a council, consisting of general officers and the leading citizens, at the head of whom was General Romain, after-

wards Prince de Limbé. As a matter of course, a fresh constitution was concocted, and it was put forth on the 17th February, 1807. I have never succeeded in obtaining an authenticated copy of it; but its principal provisions, as given by Placide Justin, resembles very closely that of Port-au-Prince, except that the presidency was for life, with the right of naming a successor; and that magistrate had the nomination of the council of nine, who formed the deliberative body: besides, he alone proposed laws which, though passed by the council, were ineffectual without his final approval. Thus all real power centred in his hands.

The disputes between the two chiefs were maintained with vigour until 1812, when a truce seems to have been tacitly admitted. A second siege of Port-au-Prince had failed, and there was no immediate prospect, though active hostilities were suspended, of a union between the two parties; for Christophe, who was generally the assailant, was engaged with other pursuits, which most probably distracted his attention from his adversary. It is certain, from their mutual recriminations, that the cessation of violence did not arise from any increase of esteem. On the 28th March, 1811, an act was passed by the council already described,

entitled, “*Loi Constitutionnelle du Conseil d’Etat, qui établit la royauté à Hayti,*”\* and Christophe was declared the first king of Hayti, under the name of Henry I. Whoever is curious to obtain minute information on the history of this transaction may with advantage consult an octavo volume, written by the Count de Limonade, entitled, “*Relation des Glorieux Evénemens,*” &c. &c. printed at Cape Henry, 1811.

By this constitutional law the absolute power of the monarch and the principles of feudal law were established. In the month of January, 1812, the Code Henry, consisting of seven laws, was prepared by the same council, and received the royal sanction. This code is a digest of the laws passed for the general government of the kingdom; but it appears to be less than equivocal that the will of the sovereign was paramount to the written law.

In the work of Count de Limonade there is an ostentatious statement of the arrangements consequent on the erection of the monarchy; the establishment of various ranks of nobility; the creation of an order of knighthood, that of St. Henry; and all the exterior of an old court, show how earnest Henry was in elevating his court to a level, at least in form, with that of

\* See Appendix, note (W.)

the oldest countries in Europe ; and his success was complete, as far as the external appearance could indicate it.

In the “ *Almanach Royal d’Haiti* ” of 1820, the last year of Henry’s reign, there are lists of the royal family, of the officers of state, of the nobility, the royal household, the council of state, the privy council, the members of the order of St. Henry, of the ministers of every department, of the clergy, of the army, and of all the establishments of settled government ; yet that of the king was at that time almost in the last agonies of dissolution.

In my Notes on Cape Haitian and elsewhere, a slight sketch has been drawn of Henry’s personal character. The same principles that guided his private life influenced him as monarch. He was most anxious to advance the condition of his subjects ; and being invested with uncontrolled power, he adopted every scheme that he deemed fitting ; and, from ignorance of the slow operations by which permanent revolutions among mankind can be effected, he attempted to force his people prematurely into civilisation. It was a favourite opinion with him, that whatever was done elsewhere ought to be done in Haiti ; and there are various instances recorded of his compelling

native workmen to execute articles, though at an infinitely augmented expense. Some of his plans for promoting improvement were unquestionably good : he invited men of science from Europe ; he established schools, of which I saw some interesting vestiges at the Cape ; he built fortifications to protect the country from foreign invasion, disciplined his army, encouraged commerce, protected foreigners, and undoubtedly promoted enterprise and activity. But his sense of discipline degenerated into severity, and his punishment of crime into savage cruelty. Thus he gradually appears to have lost all regard for aught but his own furious passions, which being his sole rule of conduct, led to his final destruction, as has been already described. Yet there are among the surviving black chiefs still some yearnings after him, which show that in spite of his general ferocity, he had the power of commanding the respect, and in many cases even the regard of his own people.

That he had the art of selecting persons of talent for assisting in those departments of the government for which his want of education unfitted him, is shown in the Code Henry, (already mentioned,) comprising the laws affecting civil rights, commerce, prizes, civil process, criminal process, cultivation, and the



military service. But it is confidently asserted, and facts are stated to show, that these laws were a dead letter, when opposed to the wishes of the sovereign; and, indeed, this view is in strict accordance with the fact, that there was no legal check on him, imposed either by the constitution of the 17th of February, 1807, or by the constitutional law of the 28th of March, 1811.

It is certain that, notwithstanding a very expensive establishment, Henry amassed more money than any other chief in Haiti ever did. It seems to be unquestioned that he had hoarded not less than thirty millions in gold and silver coin in the citadel prior to its being struck with lightning. I was assured that Dupuy always asserted that there had been sixty millions. Either is an inconceivably large sum to have been accumulated from his resources. Only a small proportion found its way into the republican treasury. Yet, I have been informed on the best authority, that in consequence of a representation advisedly made to the French government, that twenty millions were there lodged, the exaction of thirty millions was proposed. I doubt very much whether a fourth part of that amount ever reached the exchequer of the president.

Of the death of this extraordinary man, and



the consequent revolutions, some slight account has been already given. It is now necessary to return to the provinces of the South and West, which fell under the dominion of Petion at the time of his rupture with Christophe in 1806.

## CHAPTER V.

Petion elected President—His history—His system—Friendly to Britain—Gauman's revolt—Arrival of Rigaud—Separation of the South—Five governments—Death of Petion—Election of Boyer—Union of whole Island—French negotiations—Baron Mackau—Recognition of independence—Arrival of foreign agents.

AFTER Christophe had retired from the siege of Port-au-Prince, in January, 1807, the constituent assembly, then sitting in that city, were left at leisure to select a president more suited to their views; and all opposition having been lulled by previous intrigues, Alexander Petion, now styled the founder of the republic, was chosen president for four years. This chief's real name was Sabez, the son of a French jeweller at Port-au-Prince. At the commencement of the revolution he had rendered himself conspicuous by his talents, as well as by

an insatiable love of intrigue. On the English invasion he devoted himself with zeal and fidelity to the service of the French republic, in which he attained the rank of chef de brigade. In that capacity he served in the contests between Rigaud and Toussaint; and on the defeat of the former he accompanied him to France, whence he returned to Haiti with the expeditionary army under Le Clerc. He directed the artillery at Crête à Pierrot, and was eventually placed in the command of twelve hundred men, with whom he gallantly served France, until a short time before the death of the governor-general, when he abandoned the post assigned for him, and joined the insurgents with the whole of his party. The French allege concert with the rebels as the cause of his defection: his friends declare that the discovery of a secret plan to cut him off, with the whole of his men, alone actuated him. It is probable that the mutual distrust of both parties may have given rise to acts on both sides that may countenance both assertions. The effect on Petion was decided: from the moment of his secession he became the determined enemy of France, being as devoted in his hatred of, as he had previously been in his zeal for, that country. He was one who signed the Act of Independence in

1804, and who also signed Dessalines' Constitution of 1805, by which that chief became emperor.

The great objects of Petion's life appear to have been the consolidation and improvement of the republic, and the subversion of the authority of his Northern rival. The materials with which he had to operate rendered the accomplishment of his task exceedingly arduous. He was the chief of the smallest numerical caste, and consequently did not dare to act with the rigour of his opponent. The blacks were to be propitiated; and, to accomplish this important end, he was driven to temporising measures: necessity appears to have forced him into a systematic opposition to those of Christophe. Though his exchequer was so low, that he issued base money, and he knew well that, without exports, it would be vain to expect to carry on commerce or to obtain a revenue, yet he encouraged repose. Though declaiming in favour of industry, he protected idleness: instead of resolutely punishing disorder, he palliated crime, and, when it became too strong, got rid of it by intrigue: instead of enforcing the discharge of public and private duties, he winked at licentiousness. His partisans increased in number, though probably not in

respectability; and his police is said to have been most wretchedly inefficient.

Petion, however, encouraged trade, especially with Great Britain, to which he gave a decided preference, by reducing the duties on British goods to five per cent, while those levied on every other nation were twelve per cent: \* he introduced the subdivision of land, in the hope that every proprietor of land would thus have an individual interest in the soil; and he was anxious to reduce his military force. He also introduced a base coinage; and it is estimated, whether correctly or not I cannot say, that at the time of his death twelve millions of dollars of this depreciated currency were in circulation, although he had only issued about five millions. At present a similar coinage exists, and is extensively counterfeited; and the distinction between the real and the imitative money is, that the latter contains more silver and is better executed.

In addition to the distresses already alluded to, Petion had to contend with internal dissension. About the end of 1807 Jean Baptiste Perrier dit Gauman or Goman, raised the standard of revolt among the mountains of Jérémie, ostensibly to promote the cause of Christophe,

\* See Appendix, note (X.)

but more probably to effect some more personal object, and carried on for years a successful predatory warfare: in 1810 General Rigaud, who had been detained in France from the time he had been sent back, without having been allowed to land at the Cape, by General Le Clerc, escaped by the way of the United States, and appeared at Cayes, whence he proceeded to the capital. Rigaud's partisans assert that he left France secretly: Petion's party, on the other hand, as confidently allege that he was an emissary of Napoleon; and in support of this allegation adduce many statements. Whether one or other of these be true, it is certain that the two chiefs met with mutual suspicion; Rigaud naturally regarding his former subaltern as occupying the station which he was entitled to fill; while Petion became suspicious of the designs of his old commander. The reception was affectedly cordial, and the declarations of each appeared to be believed by the other. In a short time, however, suspicion changed to disgust, and disgust was roused to animosity. After some warm differences Rigaud threw off the mask, and assumed the command of the province of the South, (under the style of general commanding in the South,) assisted by a council resident at the city of Cayes. Va-

rious discussions and some military movements followed, without any definite result beyond a sort of armed truce; and towards the end of 1811 the survivor of the earliest revolutionary chiefs expired at the plantation Laborde, near to Cayes. The present General Borgella, then Rigaud's second, succeeded to the supreme command, and shortly afterwards joined the party of the president.

During the period just described the island presented the singular spectacle of as many independent governments as existed at its first discovery, viz. five: that of Henry, of Petion, Rigaud, Gauman, and Old Spain.

The defection of some of Christophe's fleet augmented the resources of the republic; and the revisal of the constitution of 1806, in 1816, by which the government was rendered apparently more popular by the formation of a lower house, while the hands of the executive were strengthened by various means, especially by the office of president being for life,\* with the right of naming a successor, were favourable to the wishes of Petion; but still he was disappointed in the advancement of his favourite republic, and he sank under accumulated griefs.

\* Previous to this Petion had been re-elected president thrice, and after this revision he was chosen for life.



He died the 29th of March, 1818, after having presided over the republic upwards of eleven years. He is much lamented by his party ; but there are others who do not regard his memory with the same feelings. Amid such conflicting testimony as is adduced for and against this chief, it would be impossible to form a positive opinion ; but it appears probable, from balancing all that is alleged, that his ambition was as unbounded as that of Christophe ; but he possessed more prudence, a greater power of self-command, and more passive courage. It does not appear equally probable that he had less disposition to shed blood ; he only contrived (at least it is so said and corroborated by ample details) that offenders, or at least those who opposed him, should not fall by the hands of the executioner, but rather that they should do so in resisting authority of which they were probably ignorant. It must be admitted that the late president was surrounded by no ordinary difficulties ; and it may not be impossible that these very difficulties may have occasionally led him to act in opposition both to his better judgment and to his better feelings. Previous to his death, he is reported to have given as a parting injunction to his successor, General Boyer, “ never to treat with France.”

The late president's nomination of General Boyer was confirmed by the senate and prætorian bands of Haiti. This officer had been in the French service, had emigrated with Rigaud and others, had been in the United States, and had accompanied Petion on his return in 1802. He served as aide-de-camp to General Boyé, who was chef d'état major of Rochambeau's army. Eventually he was attached to Petion's staff, and became commandant of the city of Port-au-Prince. After his elevation the term of the political embarrassments of the republic began to diminish. Very soon Gauman fell, after a laborious pursuit, by Generals Borgella and Lys for nine months; and in 1820 Christophe's death re-opened the North. The confusion and disunion among the leaders of the revolt afforded an opportunity to General Boyer, of which he very judiciously availed himself, by pressing forward with a considerable force, and taking possession of every strong place in the late kingdom. Thus, for the first time since the death of Dessalines, the whole of the late French St. Domingo was re-united under one government. The sudden dissolution of the iron rule of Christophe produced such entire disorganisation, as to render it impossible to restore even so much discipline as might have been

useful; and the habits of the North were gradually assimilated to those of the South. The supremacy of the Port-au-Prince government was not long undisturbed; for some of Henry's old generals were accused of putting forth pretensions to the government. They were seized; some were tried, condemned, and executed; others destroyed themselves; and some fell as Romain has been described to have done in the first volume of these Notes.

The republic being now restored to its original limits, the only object necessary to its perfect internal consolidation that remained incomplete, was the acquisition of the Eastern, or Spanish portion of the island. The history of the revolutions that there occurred, from the treaty of Basle to 1822, have been already given. The final annexation at this last named period completed all the views of the Haitian government with respect to territory. Yet the absence of all foreign recognition excluded them from political rank. Even Colombia, the chief of which owes so deep a debt of gratitude for essential services in the hour of necessity, refused to entertain political relations with her ancient friend. The first recognition (and it was essential that it should so originate) was from the mother country. But as that act was

preceded by a long series of negotiations, it will be convenient here to relate them very briefly in the order of succession.

Immediately after the restoration of the Bourbons a powerful body of persons, interested in St. Domingo, are said to have commenced their intrigues ; and, so early as October 1814, Dauxion Lavaysse, with Medina and Draverman, were sent out with instructions from the French minister of marine, M. Malouet.—The former proceeded to Port-au-Prince, and proposed to the president, Petion, that the sovereignty of France should be recognised, and that the president and the principal chiefs should be appointed president and members of a provisional government of Haiti, acting in the name of Louis XVIII.

The Haitians refused to listen to these terms, but proposed that their independence should be recognised, on the payment of moderate indemnity. This being considered inadmissible, Lavaysse's mission terminated, and was afterwards disclaimed by the French government. It is said that this negotiator was authorised to excite discord, which was well known to Petion ; who, however, allowed him to return in safety. Not so with Medina, who had formerly served under Toussaint, and was accused

of having betrayed his trust. By the intrigues and treachery of Vastey, it was discovered that he was possessed of documents calculated to promote dissension. He was seized, exhibited in public, kept in close confinement, and was no more heard of: it is supposed that he was secretly assassinated: Draverman escaped. The next negotiation, in 1816, was intrusted to Viscount de Fontanges and M. Esmangart, both formerly large landed proprietors in St. Domingo. Their propositions, which were modifications of those made by Dauxion Lavaysse, were equally vain. These propositions were made both to Petion and Christophe. The third attempt was made in February 1821, about three years after the election of the President Boyer. M. Aubert de Petit Thouars was sent to renew negotiations on a different footing. The chief demands were: that the suzeraineté of France should be acknowledged, and an indemnity paid for cession of territory and property. The second proposal was alone listened to: the first was decidedly refused. As neither party would give way, all intercourse between the governments ceased until 1823, when M. Liot arrived at Port-au-Prince from the French government, and urged the president to make his own proposals, as every advance made by France

had been unavailing. This was accepted ; and General Boyé, who had formerly served in St. Domingo under Rochambeau, and was a friend of the president, although a Frenchman, was named as the Haitian negotiator. He repaired to Europe in August 1823, and met M. Esman-gart at Brussels, where the conferences commenced. The Haitians required that their independence should be fully acknowledged ; that the flags of both nations should be admitted into their respective ports, with the exception of those of the French colonies, with which Haiti was to maintain no intercourse ; that, for four years, French goods in French bottoms should be exempted from all duties, and afterwards to have only one half of those imposed on others ; that Haitian produce in French ports were to pay no more than the duties levied on the most favoured nations ; that vessels of war, for the protection of commerce, should reciprocally be admitted into the ports of both countries ; and that political and commercial agents should be reciprocally admitted.

All these points were agreed upon, except the mode of indemnifying France : a sum of money being demanded by the Frenchman, the negotiation ended.



In the month of November 1823 Esmangart despatched M. Laujon, on the part of the French government, to Haiti, to renew the negotiation. The president, in compliance with this application, sent, in May 1824, MM. Larose and Rouanez with powers to offer a certain sum to France as an indemnity, payable either in money or produce, in five equal amounts ; to place the admission of all French goods in to the republic on the footing of the most favoured nation. On the other hand, they were to require that Haitian produce, either in French or Haitian bottoms, should pay no higher duties in France than similar productions from the French colonies. In all minor points the propositions corresponded with those made by General Boyé.

These were all adopted ; and Esmangart, for the first time, announced that the treaty could only apply to the French part of St. Domingo, as the king of France could not stipulate for the king of Spain. This was deemed inadmissible by the deputies from Haiti, who, in an interview with the French minister, Clermont Tonnerre, stated that in the ordonnance declaratory of their independence (which was to be a preliminary to the treaty), the king of France would only reserve to himself the “ souveraineté



extérieure." On these two proposals, the negotiations again broke off, and the deputies returned in August to their own country.

It does not appear that any public negotiation was carried on, whatever private communications may have been made, until the month of July 1825, when Baron Mackau arrived, with a strong squadron of about fourteen ships of war, that remained in the bay of Port-au-Prince, while he himself proceeded to the capital, with the ordonnance of the 17th April 1825, in which the independence of French St. Domingo was recognised on the following conditions: that the ports should be open to all nations; but that the French flag should only pay half duties both inwards and outwards; and that one hundred and fifty millions of francs should be paid, as an indemnity, in five equal payments, the first on the 31st December 1825. The ordonnance was accepted on the 11th July; and from the festivities described in the official papers, it would appear that a load of debt, and most humiliating conditions, were considered by the Haitian government matters of unfeigned delight: the people, however, I believe, think very differently. Three new commissioners, MM. Daumec, Rouanez, and Fremont, accompanied

the baron on his return to France, for the purpose of completing a treaty, and of raising a loan to extinguish their debt with France, which was confirmed by a particular law of the legislature. In October of the same year a convention was concluded at Paris, and Rouanez and Fremont, the two surviving commissioners, returned to Haiti ; but, on their arrival, the president refused his ratification, on the score of the conditions being unfavourable to his country. Various negotiations have been on foot, without any favourable issue, up to the beginning of this year ; but the ordonnance is in full vigour, except in the clause granting the privilege to France of half duties on exports. The export duty having been entirely abolished, no nation can be more favoured than another.

Towards the close of 1825 M. Maler, the first French consul-general, with a consul for Cayes, and a vice-consul for the Cape, arrived in Haiti. Early in the following year I followed : Prussia, Lubeck, Hamburgh, Holland and Sweden also sent agents, the three first consuls-general, and the two last consuls. The United States have a commercial agent at each of the principal ports ; but some dissatisfaction with President Adams' message on the subject

of Haiti had interfered with their being recognised by the government. Whether other functionaries from countries than these named have since gone to the republic I do not know.

## CHAP. VI.

Government—Population—Ecclesiastical Establishment.

## GOVERNMENT.

AFTER the various struggles, of which a rapid outline has been already given, the whole island of Hispaniola, and its various dependent islets, are subject to one government, under the style and title of the Republic of Haiti. It will be interesting to give a summary of the actual state of the existing government, in so far as it can be considered, without touching on forbidden ground. The original constitution of 1806 is said to have been founded on that of the United States of North America, which has since been the acknowledged model of all the constitutions of the New World, except that of Brazil: yet there were some very re-

markable deviations from both the spirit and form of the great original.

The principles on which the constitution of 1806 are formed are clearly expressed in the report made by the constituent assembly, on the 27th of December of that year.\* Groaning under the recollection of the recent usurpations of Dessalines, that body laid down their opinions with precision; and, from the accuracy of some of these opinions, there cannot be many dissentient voices. While they considered the best system of government for every people to be that which, being most conformable with their particular habits and manners, secures the greatest sum of happiness for all its members, they suggested that there are certain good principles common to all states; and among these the first was the separation of the executive and legislative functions: the former was to devolve on a president, to be chosen every four years, and the latter on a senate consisting of twenty-four members. The latter also had the nomination of all public functionaries, as well as control over the public expenditure, by constant inspection. The senate was first to be named by the assembly, and afterwards it was

\* See Appendix, note (Y.)

to be composed of such public officers as "the people shall have designated." There was no house of commons, nor appeal to the people: in fact, neither the people nor the executive had much power, all being vested in an oligarchy, consisting of the nominees of the first constituent assembly. The deviations from the American standard are very striking. In the one case the institutions are very democratical, the people exercising a constant control over them. In the other the people had no influence after the election of the constituent assembly; the executive was feeble and embarrassed; and the entire power intrusted to an oligarchy of an objectionable kind; inasmuch as the individual members of it were subject to changes which might be productive of a counterchange of measures. Of the objections to this form of republic, some of the writers on Christophe's party, especially Vastey, took constant advantage; and it would seem that its inapplicability to practical purposes was discovered by its framers; for, on the approach of the period for the revision of the constitution, which had been fixed at the expiration of the ninth year, the senate, in an address to the people, announced their intention of revising the details of ten sections, which was done;

and the results of their labours were embodied in the revised constitution, and presented to the senate by the assembly of revision, on the 2d of June, 1816. In this document, which has been printed with my Reports on Haiti, by the order of the House of Commons, the abolition of slavery was confirmed ; the general dispositions as to the rights of persons detailed ; the territorial bounds fixed ; the religion of the state determined to be that of the church of Rome ; the chamber of commons established, and its powers defined ; the functions of the senate somewhat restricted ; the mode of promulgating laws decreed ; the authority of the executive rendered much more efficient ; and as the changes in that authority were very remarkable, and at variance with the original institution, it will be necessary to note some of the most important modifications in their proper place. Enactments of a general nature, relative to the army, agriculture, commerce, the financial department, and the future revision of the constitution, with a view to the correction of its defects, all occupy a portion of the constitution. Perhaps the document would not bear a very rigorous analysis, especially in the points on which so much stress is laid, both in the republic and by her admirers elsewhere ; for



the profession of liberty and equality does not altogether accord with the direction which has been given to the whole power of the state ; a direction which cannot be misunderstood by any one who takes the trouble of examining the subject.

Since the revision of 1816 another epoch of nine years has elapsed without the periodical examination having taken place ; but a series of codes has been compiled and published. It consists of six : viz. the code civile, code de procédure civile, code d'instruction criminelle, code penal, code de commerce, code rural, and form the digest of the laws of the republic : besides which there are numerous laws in operation passed during each session.

The affairs of the government are directed by the president, his Excellency General Jean Pierre Boyer, the immediate successor of President Petion. As the nature of the authority of the chief magistrate of Haiti has been very erroneously described, I shall here give some account of it, on the authority of the constitution itself.

The president holds his office for life ; he must have attained his thirty-fifth year prior to his election ; he has the right of designating his successor, subject, however, to the approval

of the senate; he is charged with maintaining the internal and foreign peace of the republic; he can issue proclamations *in conformity with the laws*, and compel obedience; he commands the armed force; he watches over the tribunals by his commissaries, whose offices are held during his pleasure; he *proposes* to the *commons* all laws, except those connected with taxation; he can enter into treaties with foreign nations, and make war, subject to the sanction of the senate; he names all agents accredited to foreign countries; he also *appoints all functionaries*, civil as well as military; he receives an allowance of forty thousand dollars a-year;\* he *directs the receipt and issue* of the public taxes; but in case of malversation he may be denounced by the senate; and the high court of justice has authority to sit in judgment. In short, the whole power of the state is centred in the chief, except in points which may easily be nullified—the inability to propose taxes; the subjection of his *treaties* to the senate; and the negative that the same body can give to his nominee as his successor.

\* To this I believe some considerable additions have been made from time to time; but their extent I am not prepared to state.

The details of the administration are carried on in three state departments, which have been alluded to in the preceding volume. The first of these is that of the secretary-general, which is now and has been held for many years by General Inginac, who is a person of very considerable talent. His department comprehends the war-office, that of foreign relations, and that of the domains ; but his personal duties are very extensive. He directs the printing and circulation of all laws, proclamations, and instructions of the government ; he exercises the censorship of the press ; expedites the correspondence of the president ; presides over the three offices above-named ; and that of all branches of the public service which his excellency chooses to reserve for him. All documents, except letters issuing from this department, are signed by the president, and countersigned by the secretary-general. This department may be considered in reality that over which the chief magistrate essentially presides. The whole of the clerks in this section are military men.

The next department is that of the secretary of state for finances and the treasury. It is divided into two branches, over one of which the secretary of state presides, and over the second

the treasurer-general, who is subordinate to his colleague. All fiscal matters belong to this department.

The third department immediately forming a portion of the government is under the grand juge, who is the chief of all the judicial establishments : he controls all the officers of justice ; sees to the due administration of the law ; superintends the notaries ; the officers of the bureau civil, or register of births, deaths, and marriages ; legalises all public acts to be used abroad ; and presides in the high court of justice : he moreover assists the president in all questions connected with his department.

As the high court of justice possesses extraordinary powers, it might not be uninteresting to describe its functions and constitution. It has jurisdiction in all charges preferred by the legislative bodies against their own members, the president of the republic, either of the secretaries of state, or any other great functionary. It can only be constituted by the proclamation of the senate. It must be held in a place designated for its sittings, which must not be more than twelve leagues from the senate. It is composed of at least fifteen judges, taken by lot from the different departmental tribunals ; and the grand judge presides, except when he

may be under accusation, when the president may select a president from the great public functionaries. There being no appeal from the judgment of this court, the accused has the right of rejecting one-third of his judges, and two-thirds only can condemn. I never heard of an instance in which this court was ever held.

The chief executive power may be considered to be in the hands of these three departments. The local exercise of it will be discussed after giving a short account of the legislative and other bodies, called the "Grand Corps de l'Etat."

The first of these is the senate, consisting, as at its first institution, of twenty-four members, which number it must never exceed. The age of each senator must not be less than thirty years. All citizens are eligible, except the actual members of the chamber of deputies. The choice is made by the deputies out of a list of three nominees of the president for each vacancy : this is done by private ballot. The functions of the senate continue nine years ; and at the session preceding the last of its existence the lists are made up and sent in by the president to the commons. Re-election can take place only after an interval of three years. The sessions are public ; but may be made private if expedient. Each sena-

tor receives annually one thousand six hundred dollars from the treasury. The senate corresponds, as a body, with the executive and the commons on certain public affairs; but all private communication between the individual members of the legislative bodies is interdicted. Some of the other attributes of the senate are named in the account of the executive. The senate decrees the appropriation of the supplies to the different branches of the public service. The senators are privileged from arrest in civil cases. This body has a permanent sitting, there being always a resident committee in the capital during the vacation. The president, and two secretaries, chosen from among the members, are elected every month. The legislative and occasional judicial functions of this body are detailed in the constitution.

The second is the chamber of representatives, chosen every five years by the electoral colleges of the communes. The choice of the president and secretaries is made in the same manner as in the senate. The functions of this body are also defined by the constitution, and may be considered to be the following:—

It is a fundamental law, that no law can be effective of which the projet shall not have been proposed by the executive, discussed and



adopted by the representatives, and decreed by the senate. The legislative duties of the commons are co-ordinate with those of the other branch of the legislature. Each member must have completed his twenty-fifth year. The chamber lasts for five years, at the expiration of which a new election takes place. At the prescribed period, between the first and tenth of February, the communal assemblies are convoked by the president, and these assemblies choose the deputies for their respective communes or towns, according to the number prescribed by law. Universal suffrage is the law, and ballot the mode of election. These primary assemblies are prohibited from entering on any topic except that for which they are held ; and their meetings cannot exceed ten days. A representative may be re-elected for an indefinite number of times. The chamber meets at Port-au-Prince, and the session cannot exceed three months. The sessions take place on the 1st of April, and may be public or private according to the decision of the body itself. Each member receives two hundred dollars per month during the sitting of the chambers, paid by his own constituents, and a dollar per league for travelling expenses. The modes of discussing all propositions brought before the chamber are



detailed, whether in ordinary or extraordinary cases. The members, as well as those of the senate, are irresponsible for whatever they may say or write in the exercise of their legislative functions : exemption from arrest, in civil cases, is one of their privileges ; and, if charged with any crime, they cannot be taken before ordinary tribunals, nor arrested without the sanction of the chamber itself ; and even then they can only be tried by the high court of justice. The several steps of any process are detailed in the constitution, a copy of which has been printed with my Reports already referred to.

Of a subordinate character are the tribunal of cassation and the “chambre des comptes.” The former of these consists of a president (doyen), six judges, and six supernumerary judges, a commissary of the government, and other officers. The duty of this court is to revise the decisions of other courts, and to decide on the application of the law to the case in which it had been previously made.

The “chambre des comptes” consists of five members, whose duty it is to examine into and to report on every branch of expenditure and collection of revenue to the president, as well as to suggest their views of reform and improvement.

The internal government of the republic is

managed in the following manner. The whole island is divided into sixty-six communes, and thirty-three parishes, which have not been erected into communes: these are again classed under twenty-six military arrondissemens, eight financial arrondissemens, and six departments.

Over each military arrondissement an officer of rank, usually a general, presides, and exercises both military and civil authority: he is the medium through which the government makes known its arrangements. The arrondissemens are—

Aquin	Limbé
Azua	St. Mark
Le Borgne	Marmelade
Cape Haitian	Cape Nicolas Mole
Les Cayes	Monte Christi
Santo Domingo	Nippes
Fort Liberté	Port-au-Prince
Gonaives	Port de Paix
Jérémie	Port Plate
Grande Rivière	Tiburon
Jacmel	La Vega
San Juan	Mirebalais
Leogane	St. Jago.

The financial districts have, as the principal place of each, an open port, that is, where a re-

gular custom-house is established: they are Cape Haitian, Cayes, Santo Domingo, Gonaïves, Jérémie, Jacmel, Port-au-Prince, Port Plate. The local administration is carried on by its administrator, a treasurer, a director of the customs, and a storekeeper, resident at the principal town. Subordinate officers are employed with corresponding functions in the communes of the district. The duties of the administrators and treasurers embrace all fiscal matters; and these officers, together with the administrators of the customs, are under the direction of the secretary of state. It is as unnecessary as it would be uninteresting to enter into further details on this branch of the service.

I am not aware that any practical object is attained by the divisions into departments, and I am disposed to think it is calculated merely to keep up an arrangement made long ago.

Besides the high court of justice and that of cassation, there are eight local civil and criminal tribunals, established at seven of the already enumerated capitals of the financial districts, and the eighth is held at St. Iago instead of Port Plate. Each of these courts are composed of a president, (doyen,) four judges, four substitute judges, a commissary of the government, and inferior officers, aided by a

jury (which has lately been introduced): these courts dispose of all criminal cases which exceed the jurisdiction of the *juges de paix*. Without the jury they decide in civil matters.

Tribunals of commerce were talked of when I was in the republic, but I do not know that they have been yet organised.

The ordinary legal affairs are decided by the *juges de paix*, who have an extensive jurisdiction: their decisions are final in all civil matters to the extent of fifty dollars; but they may give judgment to the extent of one hundred dollars, subject, however, to an appeal. In common police cases they decide on those in which the penalty is either a fine of twelve dollars, or imprisonment for five days; but they wield the principal powers of the code rural.

Whenever the judgment is final, one of the substitute judges, as well as the *juges de paix* and the *greffier*, must be present.

The notaries, officers de l'état civil, and public auctioneers, are all subordinate to the courts.

By the means described the whole of the administration of the government is effected; and it will be recollected that the whole patronage, from that of the general governing an *arrondissement* to that of an auctioneer, belongs to the president of the republic.

In reviewing this slight sketch of the constitution, derived from the document itself, it is impossible to consider the government to be other than a military elective monarchy, in which, though the forms are republican, the whole of the efficient authority of the state is wielded by the first magistrate. It will be seen that the entire patronage, civil as well as military, centres in his hands; that, consequently, he may exercise a powerful influence over the popular representation; that the senate may be considered his nominees; and the fact is, that he has a direct influence over almost every public functionary, while the nice self-adjusting provisions of the constitution, as they have been fancifully described by an amiable enthusiast, are quite nugatory. It is true that no violent breach has been effected against the people; but the constitution, as it now exists, is incompatible with the spirit of republicanism, and is so considered by a large number of reflecting people in Haiti.

It forms no part of my business to discuss either the fitness or the unfitness of one form or other of government for securing the greatest sum of happiness to the people; but I am bound to state the facts which fully bear out the opinions I have formed. Nor do I think that it would be

at all difficult to show, that a vigorous executive in an infant community, if acting with discretion, is better calculated to advance its interests, than they would be by the adoption of the ingenious speculations of theoretical politicians. Such considerations do not fall within the scope of these volumes, though it may be well for the reader to keep them in view, before arriving at any conclusion as to the workings of the present system in Haiti.

The government, on its present footing, has an obvious difficulty to encounter. The country is called every where a republic; the rights of man, liberty, and equality, are the never-failing topics among the politicians who think of the imaginary Constitution, while in reality, the chief magistrate possesses by that revision powers of infinite magnitude; and should occasions arise that call for the exercise of them, the cry of violated freedom would probably follow: if not interrupted, mischief may be the consequence; if checked, what right is there to maintain the existence of a republic, since the name alone exists?

It would form an interesting subject of research, to compare the short progress of the new republic with that of other states emerging from the gloom of barbarism; and, in doing so,



it might be determined how far the apology can be admitted, that is uniformly urged by one of the most patriotic and intelligent men in the republic, when pressed on his varnishing over the defects of his country—" Nous sommes jeunes."

#### POPULATION.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate information as to the amount and composition of the population of most countries, but especially in those that have recently been in a state of convulsion, will be fully appreciated by every person who has attended to this branch of statistics. When therefore the state of Haiti preceding the year 1822 is considered, it will not be deemed extraordinary that even its own government should be doubtful of the result of any census made, or that a foreign inquirer should be at a loss to form more than a conjecture as to the extent and composition of the population. The discordant statements made at different periods will sufficiently prove that these difficulties are not imaginary.

During my residence in the republic, I made repeated efforts to obtain from the government an official statement on this subject ; but never with success. I was therefore obliged to trust

to other sources for information ; and I am bound to add, that I have not any two statements that correspond. The conclusions must therefore be considered as mere approximations to the truth, dependent not on positive but only on probable evidence. The government of Haiti are fully aware of the necessity of making an accurate census, and the 136th, 137th, 138th and 139th articles of the code rural are devoted to these regulations, in effecting which difficulties must have occurred ; for there can be no good reason for not publishing the annual results, if obtained, especially if they be confirmatory of the statement of 1824.

The amount of population under the French and Spanish governments immediately previous to the revolution, as given by different authorities, varies so little, that the mean may be considered a sufficiently close approximation to the truth ; though even there the precision may be doubted, owing to the omission of the negroes clandestinely introduced, which assertion I make on the authority of a very intelligent person, who has survived all the revolutions.

From the period of the first of these to that at which I left the republic, there is so much

discrepancy in the accounts, that it will be necessary to give them in detail.

According to the general estimate, the population of the French portion of St. Domingo consisted, in 1789, of

Whites.....	30,826
Free People of colour .....	27,548
Slaves .....	465,429
	<hr/>
	523,893
	<hr/>

Other statements make it 534,500.

In 1785 the population of the Spanish side of the island was estimated to be

Free People of all colours .....	122,640
Slaves.....	30,000
	<hr/>
	152,640
	<hr/>

Four or five years after, that is, at the commencement of the troubles in the Western colony, the number was computed at not more than one hundred and eight thousand five hundred; and this is supposed to have dwindled to one hundred thousand, immediately before the annexation of the East to the West.

Assuming the maximum here stated at the beginning of the revolution, the total population of the whole island would be six hundred and forty-three thousand souls.

During the contests that followed this period, I have met with no records of population on which any dependence can be placed. It is however most probable that it must have been considerably reduced by emigration and death. It is well known that many proprietors emigrated with their slaves, both to the continent of America and the adjacent isles, and the bloody transactions between 1791 and 1820 leave no reasonable doubt as to the destruction of human life.

M. Humboldt has supposed, though I am not aware on what data, that in 1802 the entire population did not exceed three hundred and seventy-five thousand; and it has been stated that, after the death of Dessalines, it amounted to four hundred thousand. Whether this or M. Humboldt's estimate be most correct, or whether both be wrong, is a point that I have no means of determining.

From an American newspaper, published at the time that emigration of the black and coloured population from the continent to Haiti was anxiously promoted, for the purpose of increasing the resources of the republic, I obtained the statement said to have been made by the government, and I believe that the account of its origin is true.

	Inhabitants.
Port-au-Prince .....	89,164
Cape Haitian .....	38,566
Les Cayes.....	63,536
Santo Domingo.....	20,076
Jérémie .....	37,652
Aquin .....	58,587
Gonaives .....	33,542
Tiberon .....	37,927
Port de Paix.....	26,058
St. Mark .....	37,628
Port-au-Plate .....	10,622
Jacmel.....	99,108
Nippes.....	44,778
Fort Liberté .....	21,530
Leogane .....	55,662
Monte Christi .....	2,112
Mole .....	17,150
Mirebalais .....	53,649
Limbé .....	33,475
Grande Rivière.....	35,372
Marmelade .....	32,852
St. Jago .....	10,419
Borgne.....	29,169
Samana .....	2,209
Neybe .....	2,581
Azua .....	3,500
San Juan.....	2,745
Lamatte.....	1,026
Arcahaie .....	4,805
Croix des Bouquets .....	13,833
GRANDS BOIS.....	6,199
La Vega.....	6,178
Le Trou.....	3,932
Total .....	<u>935,335</u>

The distribution of these are :—

In the East .....	61,468
North .....	367,721
West and South.....	506,146
	<hr/>
	935,335
	<hr/>

M. Humboldt, on the most favourable principles of rapid increase, did not estimate the amount at the same period beyond eight hundred and twenty thousand ; and the generally well-informed historian of Haiti, M. Placide Justin, states, on information received after the 17th of April, 1825, that he considers even that estimate to be exaggerated ; and he adds, that according to his information, the population could not exceed seven hundred thousand.

Very shortly after my arrival at Port-au-Prince I had the good fortune to obtain possession of a population return that was never published, but had been laid on the table of the Chamber of Commons, for the purpose of apportioning the contribution for liquidating the French indemnity. The total amount was stated in one of my general Reports: the details I reserved for a separate statement, which was never called for from me, or it would probably have been printed by the order of the House of Commons.



*Census of the late French Part of St. Domingo.*

Arrondissemens.	Communes.	Population.
Borgne.....	Borgne.....	5,165
	Port Margot.....	4,696
		<hr/> 9,861
Grande Rivière.....	Grande Rivière...	..... 10,448
St. Marc.....	St. Marc.....	7,658
	Verettes.....	3,208
		<hr/> 10,866
Cayes, Torbeck.....	Port Salut, Cotteaus .....	34,954
Jérémie .....	Jérémie .....	23,042
Cape Haitian.....	Cape Haitian, &c.. .....	22,984
Port de Paix .....	Port de Paix, &c.. .....	10,750
Le Mole.....	Le Mole, &c.. .....	1,988
Aquin.....	Aquin, &c.....	20,092
Mirebalais .....	Mirebalais .....	16,037
Nippes.....	L'anse à Veau....	8,552
	Petit Trou .....	7,842
	Mirogoane .....	7,534
		<hr/> 23,928
Jacmel .....	Jacmel.....	19,405
	Baynet.....	7,893
	Marigot .....	3,831
	Sal Trou.....	1,890
		<hr/> 33,019
	Plaisance.....	6,175
Limbé .....	Limbé .....	5,002
		<hr/> 11,177
Trou (now included in the Arrondissement of Cape Haitian)....	Trou .....	5,503
Leogane.....	Leogane.....	15,224
	Grande Goave....	3,762
	Petit Goave .....	11,283
		<hr/> 30,269
Fort Liberté .....	Fort Liberté .....	5,977
Tiburon .....	Tiburon .....	6,078
Gonaives .....	La Ville, &c.....	6,138
	Ennery .....	3,069
	Gros Morne.....	3,647
		<hr/> 12,854
Port-au-Prince .....	La Ville.....	9,193
	La Commune.....	14,161
	Arcahaie .....	2,149
	Croix des Bouquets	12,599
		<hr/> 38,102
St. Michel (now Mar- melade).....	St. Michel.....	23,887
		<hr/> Total.. 351,716

*Census of the late Spanish Part of St. Domingo.*

Arrondissemens.	Communes.	Population.
Monte Christi.....	Monte Christi....	..... 1,029
Port-au-Plate .....	Port-au-Plate ....	..... 4,534
Azua .....	Azua .....	3,208
	Neybe .....	3,516
		6,724
St. Domingo .....	La Ville et Comm.	11,205
	Bani.....	2,321
	Seybo.....	5,364
	Higuey.....	1,655
	Samana .....	754
	St. Christophe....	4,020
	Las Llanos .....	1,142
	Bayaguana .....	1,702
	Savanna La Mar..	194
		28,357
La Vega .....	La Ville, &c. ....	5,650
	Mara .....	3,437
	St. Francisco .....	3,357
	Cotuy .....	1,776
		14,220
St. Jago.....	St. Jago.....	..... 11,056
St. Juan.....	La Ville et Comm.	3,386
	Mata .....	1,917
		5,303
		Total ... 71,223

## GENERAL SUMMARY.

Population of the North, West, and	
South.....	351,819
Of the East .....	71,223
	423,042

If this document be not a pure fabrication, which it cannot be, from the channel through which I got it, the fact of its having been prepared as a guide to the legislature in arranging a very embarrassing business, affords a strong presumption in favour of its accuracy. I am not prepared to assert that it is absolutely correct, for I have had no means of forming a judgment; but certainly the probabilities are more in its favour than those of any other estimate that I have met with, confirmed as it is by collateral circumstances. The precision observed in the details, and the absence of such estimates as that of Grands Bois, which must be, as will be presently shown, purely conjectural, do not throw any discredit on it.

The absence of visible population in very extensive districts might be considered favourable to this census, were it not known that in the wooded portions of the island a traveller may traverse a partially inhabited district without seeing any person, owing to the preference given by the natives to secluded situations. The inaccuracy of the census of 1824 is however rendered still more probable by the examination of some local documents, to which I shall presently refer.

It is curious to compare the two statements, and to remark how close in some points they are to each other, as well as the enormous differences that occur in other cases. Wherever a coincidence occurs I am disposed to consider the statement correct. It is impossible to comprehend how the discrepancy of these two documents can be accounted for without considering one as apocryphal; although, for various reasons, I am very doubtful of the absolute fidelity of either; yet I distrust that of 1824 the most. Whatever may be the amount of error in each, it appears to be inevitable that if the law be not inoperative, the mode of conducting the inquiry is lamentably defective, that the persons making it are incompetent, or inexcusably inattentive.

I have also heard it stated by that highly respectable chief, General Borgella, that he believed the population to exceed a million; and although I place great confidence in any opinion expressed by him, I should have been glad to have seen a statement of the manner in which that amount was ascertained.

I endeavoured, for the purpose of checking the two returns I have given, to procure the local returns from each district of the popu-

lation, marriages, births, and deaths. I failed in obtaining any such return of the population; but at St. Jago I was told by the registering officer, and the statement was immediately noted, that the deaths in his district averaged, for five years preceding 1827, one hundred, and the births five hundred, leaving an excess of population of four hundred, or eighty per annum. And immediately before I quitted the republic I was fortunate enough to get possession of a copy of the registers of the births, deaths, and marriages during the years 1825 and 1826, in the commune of Gonaives, and of another similar document from the 1st of January, 1821, to the 31st of December, 1826, for the commune of Cape Haitian. As these materials are very imperfect, I did not use them after I had an opportunity of doing so; but I shall now give them, with such conclusions as cannot be resisted even by the least scrupulous advocate of Haitian precocity.

## RETURN FROM THE COMMUNE OF GONAIVES.

1825.	1826.	Total for two years.
Births....185	Births....442	627
Deaths...104	Deaths...139	243
Marriages.. 3	Marriages.. 8	11

A Statement of the Deaths, Births, and Marriages, in the Parish of Notre Dame de l'Assumption, of Cape Haitian, from the 1st of January, 1821, to the 31st of December, 1826, both inclusive.

Years.	Births.		Total Births.	Deaths.				Total Deaths	Marriages.
	Males.	Females.		Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.		
1821	200	199	399	107	160	104	96	467	110
1822	168	300	468	109	90	56	85	334	63
1823	204	187	391	72	61	80	74	287	21
1824	222	182	404	66	77	56	46	230	53
1825	201	150	351	112	91	141	61	405	6
1826	214	287	501	94	68	109	71	342	69
General Total ..	1209	1305	2514	560	547	540	433	2065	322

It will be seen, on reference to the two general tables, that the amount of population is, in most instances, given of arrondissemens, and neither the communes of Gonaives nor Cape Haitian fall within the very few exceptions that occur to the general rule. It is therefore impossible to deduce any conclusions as to the ratio of births, deaths, and marriages, to the population in which they occur. All that can be done is to ascertain the proportion that these bear to each other.

In 1825, in Gonaives the births exceed the



deaths by eighty-one ; and the marriages are in the proportion to the births of one to about sixty-two. In 1826, the increase was three hundred and three, and the marriages were to the births in the ratio of one to fifty-four.

In the population table of Cape Haitian, in the first year the decrease amounted to sixty-eight ; in the second there was an increase of one hundred and thirty-four ; in the third the increase continued, and was one hundred and four ; in the fourth the increase was still greater, being one hundred and seventy-four ; in the fifth year the decrease was fifty-four ; and in the sixth year the increase was one hundred and fifty-nine ; and the entire increase in six years of the population of the city of Cape Haitian was four hundred and forty-nine, or an annual increase of rather less than seventy-five ; and if the population be taken at twelve thousand one hundred and fifty-one, which it was in 1788, the annual increase will be only sixty-one hundredths per cent., which is very little more than one half the increase in densely peopled countries.

The proportion of marriages to births is nearly—

	Marriages.		Births.
1st year .....	1	:	3 . 627
2d.....	1	:	7 . 425
3d.....	1	:	18 . 619
4th.....	1	:	7 . 622
5th.....	1	:	58 . 5—
6th.....	1	:	7 . 26

In some of these cases the proportion, or rather the disproportion, is monstrous; and in all it is so enormous as to warrant the conclusion that all the births are not the consequence of marriage.

I am as unwilling at present as I ever have been, to reason on such very imperfect data; and I merely adduce them to show that if I made no use of them formerly, I did so because I did not choose to deduce conclusions from such imperfect documents.\*

M. Placide Justin attempts, on the authority of the notes to which he refers, to classify the inhabitants thus :—

Blacks .....	605,500
Coloured.....	84,000
Naturalised Whites.....	500
Foreigners resident.....	10,000
	<hr/>
	700,000
	<hr/>

\* See note (A A) in Appendix.

I suspect that the specifications in this statement must depend on conjecture ; for as it is evidently the policy of the government to put an end, as far as it is possible, to the jealousies of caste, so it would be impossible to carry on any census marking such distinctions, without rousing passions which it is the object to subdue. The individuals most conversant with the island suppose that about one-tenth of the whole population is white and coloured.

The population consists of a few whites, a considerable number of coloured persons, and a large excess of blacks. At one time I believed that a few aboriginal Indians were to be found in the interior ; but, on a more diligent inquiry, I was convinced that the native race has become extinct. Besides the native population, there is a large admixture of blacks and coloured strangers from America and the whole of the islands ; and as they become citizens according to the 44th article of the constitution, they become constituent parts of the nation, rendering it by no means more united in its views and opinions.

During the rage for emigration from the United States about thirteen thousand emigrants came from the Continent. Many still

remain ; but many have also returned to their own country.

It is said by some of the best informed Haitians, that among the mountains that stretch from the neighbourhood of Mirebalais to the coast on the east of Jacmel, there is an extensive association of the descendants of the Maroon negroes, whose independence had been recognised long before the revolution by the then existing government. They keep aloof from all the inhabitants, and whenever they see any one approaching, the cry of “ Viennent ! viennent ! ” (They come ! they come !) is uttered, and the whole party scamper off. They have no intercourse with the present government, and I am not aware that they have ever acknowledged its authority. From their cry they are called, “ Les vien—viennent.” They are said to be perfectly inoffensive, living in a state of complete nature. I never met with any person who had had any acquaintance with them ; but it is told of a French traveller, on his way from St. Domingo to Port-au-Prince, that he being obliged one night to take up his lodgings in a forest, he was awakened by the sound of the tom-tom ; and on looking out he perceived, at a short distance, a large party of these poor people dancing with prodigious zeal.

His apprehensions made him a very peaceful spectator of the festivity, and he remained unnoticed. At the approach of day the dancers dispersed, or rather left their rural ball-room. These are the inhabitants of Grands Bois, which appears in the list of arrondissemens, in the table of the census of 1824.

Of a people, the components of which so essentially differ, it would be impossible to express any general character. But, from what I saw, I am disposed to consider the native black population of the country a quiet, indolent race, guided without much difficulty, unless harshly used: then the spirit of vengeance might be easily called into activity. The people of the towns are much more obtrusive than those of the country, and are more likely both to give and to take offence.

Education is an object of solicitude to the government, as I have already mentioned, when speaking of the institutions for its promotion, though the progress hitherto made has been very limited: and when it is recollected how many of the best informed Haitians have perished during the revolution, and how few have since had any means of education, it will cease to be a matter of surprise that it is so: the contrary would, in truth, be most miraculous.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic, are usually the utmost acquirements; and these are by no means general: to these a very few add classical literature; and one individual, who had been brought up in France, is said to be a good Grecian.

With respect to crime, little is to be said: those of a serious character rarely occur. During my stay in the republic there was only one murder committed in the capital, and the assassin was executed. Minor offences, especially trifling thefts, are not uncommon.

Marriage formally solemnised is not so common as unions of another kind; and it is not uncommon for one man to be the protector of many women. In the North the practice of solemnising marriages is said to be more common than in the South, owing to the preceding practice under Christophe, and the exertions of the priesthood at the Cape.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The first ecclesiastical establishments were formed by the Spaniards. In 1511 Pope Julius II. created the archbishopric of Xaragua, the suffragans of which were the bishops of Larez de Guahaba, and that of Concepcion de la Vega. That plan failing, the same pontiff erected, in



1517, one bishopric at Santo Domingo, and confirmed that of La Vega. Ten years after the two dioceses were consolidated, and were subordinate to the archbishopric of Seville. The tenths and first-fruits, with certain \* exceptions, were conceded to the diocesans by the pope, and confirmed by the king of Spain, on the condition of praying for the souls who should die in making discoveries. The nomination to the sees was vested in the king. At a subsequent period the bishopric was elevated to the archiepiscopal rank, having as suffragans the bishops of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the abbot of Jamaica. The archbishop was also dignified with the title of primate of the Indies ; and he nominated the inferior clergy.

The administration of the affairs of the church in the East of Haiti appears to have proceeded according to these rules until the beginning of the revolution in the West. At that time the archbishop and several of the clergy fled, and during the sway of Toussaint l'Ouverture his duties were performed by a proviso : no change occurred until the restoration of the hierarchy by Napoleon ; and as the French then occupied

\* The metals, precious stones, and pearls, formed the exceptions.

the city, a French bishop was sent out; but, having engaged in disputes with the governor, General Ferrand, he was driven from the island. The church remained without a head from that time until 1813, when the present archbishop, Don Pedro Valera y Ximenes, was nominated by the regency of Spain; though the papal bull confirming his nomination did not issue for four years. Since the revolution of 1822 he has withdrawn from his public duties, though he still exercises an ecclesiastical superintendence over his flock. He has not taken the oath of allegiance, as I understand, and he declines the pension allotted to him by the state.

The nomination of the bishop was, as has been stated, vested in the king, and made in the same way as that to European sees in the Spanish monarchy. On being made it was sent to the pope, through his nuncio at Madrid; and the necessary bull being issued and returned, the *regium exequator*, or *placet*, was attached to it.

The bull was virtually a mere formality; for from the moment of nomination the nominee was entitled to every privilege of his rank and office.

The appointments of the archbishop amounted

to ten thousand or twelve thousand dollars yearly.

The clergy were divided into the seculars and regulars. The former were again divided into the chapter of the cathedral and the parish priests. The first establishment of the chapter was on a very munificent scale, there being twenty-five members of it. The number was eventually reduced to seventeen; and on the concession of the tithes and parochial charges to the king, their income was paid out of the public treasury, at the rate of eight hundred dollars a-year to the canons, and one thousand to the dignitaries.

The parochial clergy were not very numerous, and were respectably paid.

Since the last revolution the numbers of the cathedral had fallen off; so that in 1827 there were, exclusive of the dean, (who was also vicar-general,) only two dignitaries and two canons; the first received twelve hundred dollars, and each of the remainder six hundred dollars annually. It is probable that the number has decreased still more since the time of which I speak, as some of the incumbents were old and infirm.

At that period there were in the East eighteen

parish priests, besides the chaplain of the choir in the cathedral.

There were formerly monastic institutions at St. Jago, Santo Domingo, Azua, and San Juan. The monks were Dominicans, Mercenarians, and Franciscans; the nuns, Mercenarians, Capuchins, and of the orders of Santa Clara, and Regina Maria.

The Dominicans had their priors, the Mercenarians their superiors, the Franciscans their guardians, and the nuns their abbesses, who superintended their internal discipline, under the control of the diocesan.

All the monasteries are in ruins, except those of the city of Santo Domingo, and all have been suppressed. The nunneries have shared the same fate; but an asylum is still afforded to a few old nuns, of whom there were, when I was at Santo Domingo, six, one of whom was an old woman of ninety.

In the three provinces that belonged to France there was no bishop; but they were divided into fifty-two parishes, under (by an especial grant) the direction of the two missions of the Dominicans and Capuchins; the former occupying the West and South, and the latter the North. Two apostolic prefects presided over

these two communities, subject to their respective ecclesiastical superiors in Europe. There were also several monastic institutions, which have ceased to exist.

I am not aware that any public change took place in the administration of church affairs consequent on the French revolution. Under Toussaint's rule it is certain that the forms remained unaltered. Dessalines had no national religion.

On Christophe's elevation to the throne, of his proper authority he appointed two archbishops in succession, and erected three bishoprics in the West. The first archbishop was a Frenchman, the second a Spaniard. Both incurred his displeasure, and disappeared. The bishoprics do not appear to have been filled up.

A French bishop came out to the republic, and was received for a time at Port-au-Prince. With the mode of his appointment I am wholly unacquainted. The president finding that he involved himself in disputes with a factious Irish priest, who had, before his arrival, exercised great influence, expelled both. Since that the affairs of the church in the West have been carried on by four vicars-general, subject to the archbishop of Santo Domingo, who is considered the diocesan. There were in this portion

of the republic, at the time of which I speak, twenty parish priests, four of whom were the vicars-general; making a total of thirty-eight clergy in the republic, the whole of whom are paid, and, I believe, nominated by the president.

It is reported that in Christophe's time an attempt was made to form a concordat with the See of Rome; but from some cause that I cannot trace it failed. It is also reported that more recently a similar attempt was made by the present government, with a view to form a national clergy; but that his holiness called for information before coming to a decision. The government is, I believe, not disposed to form any concordat, without a perfectly national clergy be conceded to them. For that purpose an establishment has been formed at Millot, under the Abbé Besson, as I have formerly mentioned. At present the majority of the clergy are Spaniards, or at least, Spanish Americans, a few Frenchmen, and, I believe, one Italian.

The constitution declares Roman Catholicism to be the religion of the state, while it tolerates all; although Dessalines disavowed any state religion, and was equally tolerant. Although Christophe adopted Roman Catholicism as the religion of his kingdom, it is reported that he very seriously meditated the establishment of



Protestantism; and the introduction of the English language is considered to have been a preliminary.

When I was in Haiti the various sects among the American emigrants enjoyed the uninterrupted exercise of their religious rites; though I am not aware that any regular church establishment has been formed, except that of Rome. A few years before my arrival some Wesleyan preachers from England were obliged to return home, in consequence of being persecuted by the populace. I have understood that the government disclaimed any share in the outrages; and the president presented about five hundred pounds to the funds of the society. Various causes have been assigned to me in Port-au-Prince for this persecution: none, however, reflecting on the personal integrity of the missionaries; and as I know not whether any be correct or not, it is unnecessary to repeat them.

All persons, without reference to their religious faith, are allowed to be interred in the public cemetery; with this sole difference, that the bodies of Catholics are taken, previous to interment, to the church, where the service for the dead, according to the forms of the Catholic ritual, is performed; while those of other sects

are conveyed directly to the place of burial, where it is also permitted, if Protestants, that the funeral service of the Church of England should be read over them. All this is mere usage; and a few years ago the Irish priest who has been already alluded to attempted, though unsuccessfully, to set it aside, and to disinter the body of the infant child of an English resident.

No civil or military disqualifications attach to any difference of religious creed: indeed I am not aware that the mode of faith is on any occasion made a subject of inquiry. Were it made a qualification to understand, or to explain the grounds of belief, I fear that the rejected would be numerous.

## CHAPTER VII.

## AGRICULTURE.

IT is obviously necessary, in treating of the agriculture of Haiti, to divide the subject into two branches ; viz. of the cultivation of articles for domestic consumption, and that of interchangeable articles, or, as it is phrased in the republic, “ la culture des vivres,” and, “ les grandes cultures.” Indian corn is, I believe, the only grain produced ; plantains, yams, and all the usual tropical vegetables are grown in considerable abundance ; but of the absolute quantity nothing can be said, as I possess no documents on the subject. I apprehend that most of these articles are yielded in sufficient quantity for home use, as they were in preceding periods. Indian corn, however, which I have been informed was formerly not an inconsiderable article of export, is occasionally not to be procured on any terms ; and is also

sometimes imported from the United States of America. In this chapter I shall therefore confine myself to such objects as can be illustrated by documents, both because they constitute the only test of the exchangeable wealth of the country, and because my attention was especially directed to them by his majesty's government, and consequently my information is more complete than it is on topics which I could only incidentally investigate.

As a preliminary to an account of the state of the agricultural produce at different periods, it is requisite to give a brief outline of the various systems pursued to ensure labour for the branch of which I treat, after the abolition of slavery by Sonthonax, which he effected on the 31st August, 1793.\* Polverel, then in the South, hesitated; but in order to ensure an influence equal to that of his colleague, confirmed his act by a proclamation on the 1st November of the same year.

I am not aware that Sonthonax issued any regulations to induce his new freedmen to la-

\* The statements now given are substantially and often literally the reports made by me to the Foreign Office; for the more carefully I have re-examined my statements, the more secure I feel my own accuracy protected, except indeed from designing and malevolent falsehood.

bour; but Polverel published “*Règlemens de la Police sur la Culture et les Cultivateurs*”\*

The principal provisions of this code are decidedly compulsory. In the preamble the difference between the labour of freedmen and of slaves is pointed out; the necessity of industry enforced; the advantage of a participation in the profits, rather than the receipt of wages; and, in conclusion, he proposes “*organiser une société de manière que l’inégale distribution des richesses nuise le moins possible à la liberté et à l’égalité des citoyens, et que la liberté et l’égalité ne puissent amener ni l’anarchie ni la dissolution du corps politique.*”

The “*Règlement*” is divided into six sections, which treat—

1st. Of the conditions of persons in Saint Domingo.

2d. Of cultivators in general.

3d. Of cultivators participating in the proceeds.

4th. Of day labourers.

5th. Of labourers by the month, or a longer term.

6th. General arrangements applicable to all the articles of the present “*Règlement.*”

\* See this document at length in the parliamentary papers already referred to.

There appears to be much unnecessary expansion of the simplest propositions ; but there is no doubt as to the enforcement of labour by fine and imprisonment.\*

Sonthonax and Polverel returned to France, and Hedouville arrived at Cape François as agent of the Directory on the 21st April, 1798. He appears to have directed his early attention to the re-establishment of agricultural industry; for when the Commissioner Raimond (on meeting him at Fort Dauphin, on the 17th of that month, on his way to the Cape from the city of Santo Domingo, where he landed,) addressed an harangue highly laudatory of the general, of himself, and of every thing in the colony; he, after paying high compliments to Toussaint and the inhabitants in general, particularly speaks of Raimond's claims on national gratitude, "par les soins que vous n'avez cessé de vous donner pour le rétablissement des cultures."

About the same time it had been asserted that Sonthonax, on his arrival in France, had accused his late colleague, Raimond, of having monopolised sixty farms. This charge was contradicted by Raimond in the Bulletin Officiel

\* See note (BB) in Appendix.



of the 23d April 1798 (4 Floréal, an 6), by publishing a list of plantations farmed for three years by him, and nineteen other persons, among whom were Moyse (Toussaint's nephew), Christophe (afterwards king), Pascal (the nephew of his celebrated namesake), and Vincent (the French officer of engineers).

The note that follows this list is curious, if the statement be true, that in eighteen months after the establishment of the leasing system, order was restored, and the sugar produced (which had been reduced to three and a half millions of pounds) amounted to thirty millions; and that in the following year it was expected to be doubled.

In the same document there is also included a list of the plantations then let by the proprietors: they were only six, out of which five were burnt! yet all paid a certain rent.

Of the subsequent published regulations, the only documentary evidence that I could procure is furnished by the proclamation and arrêté of General Hedouville, which are at the end of the volume.\* It will be seen by reference to them that labour was required; and in case of non-compliance the penalties were fine,

\* See note (CC) in Appendix.

imprisonment, and labour on the public establishments.

As soon as Toussaint had established sufficient power, which happened very soon after he took a decided lead in the colony, he placed the whole of the agricultural system under the direction of Dessalines (afterwards emperor) and Moyse (his own nephew), as inspectors-general: to these individuals were subordinate the inspectors of districts, who in their turn had under their authority the proprietors, farmers, and managers of the plantations throughout the colony.

The whole of these officers possessed unlimited authority over their subalterns; and all authorities that I could consult concur in describing the system to have been as arbitrary and despotic as possible. The whip was abolished, but thick sticks, the stems of creeping plants called in Haiti "lianes," were used without scruple; and not unfrequently the sabre, the musket, and even burying alive, were resorted to as punishments for refractory gangs, or ateliers. I was told in the neighbourhood of Cayes, by one of the most respectable proprietors there, that he himself had witnessed the flogging of a woman (by the order of Dessalines): she was big with child, and the pu-

nishment was so severe, that abortion took place on the spot.

The most rigid severity inevitably followed idleness ; and in return the cultivators were entitled to one-fourth of the produce of their labours, and the proprietors were bound to defray the expense of their subsistence and agricultural charges. They were further obliged to remain attached to the plantations of their former masters.

It was in 1797 that the plantation Brossard, already spoken of, was let for rent. Raimond, one of the commissioners sent from France, was the farmer, and paid eighteen thousand francs annually, as appears from the Bulletin Officiel of April 23d, 1798, the then organ of the local government.

I was unable to procure any published decrees issued by Toussaint prior to the " Constitution\* of the French colony of St. Domingo." The sixth section contains all the provisions published ; and as all power was vested in the governor, the inference is fair that the statements made by contemporary Haitians is correct, that his detailed regulations were addressed

\* See note (DD) in Appendix.

from time to time to the presiding officers, but never printed.

The most important of these is that which authorises the governor (Toussaint) to make all the police regulations to enforce labour conformable to that of 20 Vendemiaire, an 9, and the proclamation of 19 Pluviose following; neither of which could be found by me in Haiti.

Under this section there is one very remarkable article (17th), charging the governor to take measures for the introduction of labourers, so indispensable to the re-establishment and increase of cultivation in St. Domingo.

The 12th section treats of national property sequestrated and in abeyance; and with much liberality the 60th article declares, that "strangers succeeding in France to their foreign or French relatives, shall succeed equally in St. Domingo: they may contract, acquire and receive the property in the colony, and dispose of it the same as Frenchmen, by all the means authorised by law."

This may in fact be considered as a corollary to the fourth article of the constitution, which declares that "every man, whatever may be his colour, is admissible to every employment."

In the laws of St. Domingo, published im-

mediately after the constitution, there are also rules for the regulation of national property. Lists of the buildings on the sequestered plantations were to be furnished to the administrator-general of domains, and to the military commandant. From these lists the administrator-general was to form a general register ; a register of each particular district to be transmitted to the particular administrators. Six months before the termination of every lease the military commandant to examine into the condition of the plantation, particularly into the increase or decrease of cultivation and of the labourers. Reports founded on these examinations to be furnished to the administrator-general, and by him laid before the governor, who would act accordingly. Farms actually in lease to pay rent either in kind or money, according to the original contract ; but on the termination of the existing leases, all contracts to be made for money. The produce to be sold every fortnight, in the presence of a municipal officer, by public auction. Some minor regulations respecting these sales follow : afterwards the mode of leasing colonial and sequestered property ; that of collecting the rents ; and lastly, a law on the property of emigrants, of whom a list was to be supplied by the French govern-

ment to the governor : on this list being received, the whole of their plantations to be confiscated.

Rigaud, on the other hand, is said by the natives to have acted on the equally compulsory, though less brutal system of Polverel. The following general view of Rigaud's measures is derived from a Swiss, who resided in the South under his administration ; and may be considered as fair a statement as can be obtained in a country where all are, in a greater or less degree, partisans ; and this person was a decided admirer of Rigaud.

“ On peut dire préalablement avec une espèce de certitude que le Général Rigaud avait les mêmes idées philanthropiques que le Président Petion, (yet his sole observation, on hearing his revolutionary bands were committing murder and every sort of atrocity, was ‘ Mon Dieu ! qu’est ce que le peuple en fureur !’) personne ne pouvait infliger une punition corporelle aux nègres ou aux habitans de couleur, que étoient engagés à travailler semaine par semaine. Toutes les discussions entre maîtres de travailleurs se terminoient devant les tribunaux. Le Général Rigaud n’a jamais employé des mesures coercitives pour la culture. Il avait pris des mesures de police à l’égard des mendiants et paresseux, qui retomboit dans le



système de Baron Vaght de Hambourg, qui s'est propagé dans toute l'Europe et aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique du Nord ; c'est à dire, que si la police attrappoit un propriétaire, ou tout autre individu quelconque, fésant l'aumone à une personne capable de travailler, il étoit condamné à payer trois fois la valeur de ce qu'il donnoit, outre la confiscation de l'objet donné comme aumone."

Le Clerc and Rochambeau had small opportunity, from the destructive system of warfare carried on by themselves as well as by their opponents, to enforce any regular plan of labour ; but during the very brief cessation of hostilities during the life of the former, I have learned in conversation, for I could obtain no trace of any printed document, that measures similar to those of Hedouville and Toussaint were pursued, as far as practicable.

After the expulsion of the French army in 1803, Dessalines was first named governor-general for life, and afterwards emperor. This individual, having been one of Toussaint's inspectors-general of cultivation, knew full well how much the general wealth of the state depended on the steady exertion of agricultural industry ; yet no document on this subject was

made public before his elevation to the imperial throne.

Very little notice is taken of agriculture in the constitution of Dessalines, proclaimed on the 20th May 1805. By the fortieth article, agriculture and commerce were placed under the direction of the minister of finance and of the interior ; and by the twenty-first article of the dispositions générales, it is declared, that as “ agriculture is the first, the most noble, and the most useful of all the arts, it shall be honoured and protected ;” and by the twenty-seventh article, the “ fête d’agriculture ” is established.

Although the law for excluding all white proprietors originated in his time, he in every other respect pursued the system over which he formerly presided ; but from the devastation of property, and probably the loss of labourers in the bloody warfare that preceded his reign, the same beneficial effects did not result from it. As before, the cultivator received one-fourth of the net produce ; flogging with the whip was abolished ; but punishment was inflicted with sticks and lianes ; and sometimes the sabre and musket were employed, as well as the more *constitutional* procedure of imprisonment.

It was a part of Dessalines' policy to get as much of the landed property as possible into the hands of the government. This he effected; first, by his base and treacherous murder of the unfortunate white French inhabitants, who unhappily confided their persons, families, and properties to his unsolicited pledges, and next by destroying nearly all the title-deeds of the coloured proprietors that the director-general of the public domains could procure. In this way nearly the whole of the North fell into the hands of this man. Of course an immense influence accompanied this accession of property; and to render it available, he attacked the labourers to the soil, though they might obtain permission from the inspector of the district to remove under urgent circumstances. It is not to be supposed that such permission would be often, if ever, granted in opposition to the wishes of so despotic and unrelenting a chief.

It is stated, though on no very decided authority, that many of those estates were farmed out, as in Toussaint's time, at an annual rent, which was regulated rather by the number of labourers than by the extent of land in cultivation. It is further said, and I believe with truth, that Dessalines was anxious to carry on,

through British means, the slave trade, in order to increase both his military and his labouring population.

After his death, in 1806, at Pont Rouge, near Port-au-Prince, and the separation of the North from the South, the systems of the leaders became different; and of these, that of Christophe is best known through information obtained from M. Mehu. I give his own words. "Son système d'agriculture étoit que les cultivateurs recevoient exactement le quart qui leur étoit accordé sur le produit de l'habitation: ils étoient tenus de se rendre au jardin avant le jour: les conducteurs de l'habitation étoient tenus de sonner la cloche à trois heures du matin, pour réveiller les cultivateurs, afin de cuire ou préparer leur déjeuner: une heure ou une heure et demie après ce son de la cloche les conducteurs ou gérans sonnoient un autre son pour avertir les cultivateurs qu'il étoit l'heure de se rendre au travail; à ce son tous les cultivateurs se réunissoient à la porte du gérant pour faire la prière: après la prière le conducteur les conduisoit à la place que le jour ne se faisoit pas, on l'employoit à nettoyer les divisions, à brûler des pièces de cannes que l'on avoit coupées, ou à faire d'autres travaux que l'on peut faire sans voir très clair. Au jour

ouvrant on les faisoit commencer l'ouvrage : à huit, neuf heures, on les donnoit un petit repos pour déjeuner : aussitôt qu'ils finissoient de déjeuner, on les faisoit reprendre le travail. Le cultivateur ne pouvoit pas quitter le travail, ni se soustraire, sous aucun prétexte, que pour le besoin indispensable ; car sur les habitations où il y avoit beaucoup de cultivateurs il y avoit deux infirmes de l'habitation, qui les suivoient à la place pour leur donner de l'eau à boire, et un ou deux pour garder les enfans des nourrices. Les nourrices se rendoient à la place au soleil levant, et quittoient l'ouvrage ensemble avec l'atelier à midi. A deux heures précises le conducteur sonnoit la cloche, et l'atelier se rendoit immédiatement au travail. Les nourrices sortoient une demi-heure après, et quittoient l'ouvrage un quart d'heure avant l'atelier, qui le quittoit au soleil couchant, et se rendoit chez le gérant pour faire la prière, avant de se retirer chez eux.

“ Toutes ces mesures étoient de rigueur ; et quand le cultivateur manquoit, on l'envoyoit en prison, ou on le faisoit travailler à la culture des places à vivres que chaque quartier établissoit pour le compte de l'état, dont les produits étoient portés au magasin du roi pour la

consommation des ouvriers et des prisonniers. Le cultivateur qui manquoit, étoit quelquefois frappé de la liane par son conducteur, son gérant, ou enfin par le royal dahomet, qui s'y trouvoit sur l'habitation; mais il n'avoit aucune réclamation à faire sur cela; s'il le faisoit, on étoit sourd à sa plainte, que le propriétaire ou fermier de l'habitation où ils travailloient ne les avoit bien payé. Dans ce cas le roi se faisoit fournir par les préposés d'administration l'état des denrées des habitations; et sur cet état il faisoit vérifier les bordereaux dressés pour le quart des cultivateurs, pour voir, même avant la plainte, si dans les payes précédentes on ne les avoit jamais dupé; et quand il appercevoit des fourberies de la part des propriétaires, fermiers, ou gérans, il les punissoit sévèrement. Ce n'étoit que sur ce point que les cultivateurs pouvoient avoir raison.

“ Les cultivateurs étoient attachés au sol de l'habitation où ils étoient nés.

“ Toutes personnes dont leurs mères ou leurs parens sont natifs d'une habitation, étoient obligés de rentrer sur cette habitation pour travailler: il suffisoit que le gérant, conducteur, ou un cultivateur faisoit connoître au commandant militaire, qu'un nommé un tel, demeurant



en tel bourg, ou en ville, ou sur telle habitation ou quartier, est le fils de telle personne, aucun sujet de l'habitation ; que le commandant étoit obligé d'écrire et de demander la personne qu'on lui dénommoit pour la contraindre à rentrer aux travaux de l'habitation ; et si elle avoit des enfans, ses enfans étoient tenus de rentrer également, excepté si elle étoit devenu propriétaire.

“ Le montant du quart revenant aux cultivateurs étoit réparti en part ; trois quarts de part ; demi-part et un quart de part. Le premier conducteur avoit trois parts égaux à l'industrie d'un fort travailleur qui prétendoit à un part ; le deuxième, deux parts ; le troisième, s'il y en avoit, un part et demi. Les maîtres moulins et sucriers, deux parts ; les forts travailleurs un part, et successivement selon leur force et leur emploi. Les gérans étoient payés par les propriétaires.

“ Sur chaque habitation il y avoit une hospita-lière pour soigner les malades et une sage-femme. Les propriétaires fournissoient un médecin qui faisoit une tournée par semaine sur l'habitation ; et tous les cultivateurs qu'il mettoit dehors de l'hôpital, étoient tenus de rentrer à l'ouvrage. Si non, on les contraignoit ; et pour maintenir l'ordre et faire travailler, le commandant militaire, officier du royal dahomet, étoit

tous les jours à trois heures du matin à cheval dans sa commune, pour inspecter et voir si les gérans sonnoient à l'heure indiquée, et s'ils n'avoient pas laissé des gens oisifs sur l'habitation sans les exiger à aller au travail. Dans le cas de négligence de la part des gérans ou conducteurs de l'habitation, ils étoient de suite arrêtés par le commandant militaire ou par l'officier du royal dahomet, et envoyés au commandant de l'arrondissement, qui avoit le droit de les envoyer aux travaux de la citadelle. Si les propriétaires ou fermiers se plaignoient directement au roi, que leur habitation ne travailloit pas, le roi donnoit ses ordres particuliers au commandant militaire ; mais avant de donner ces ordres, il s'assuroit si ce propriétaire, qui lui avoit porté plainte, portoit tous les soins exigés par le système des cultivateurs, et s'il les payoit sans les duper ; et s'il prévoyoit à tous les besoins de l'habitation ;—si enfin il ne laissoit pas gâter les cannes de l'habitation sans les rouler, si c'étoit une sucrerie, et si les cultivateurs avoient tous les outils aratoires qui leur falloient.

“ Toute personne, militaire ou autre, qui ne dépende pas de l'atelier d'une habitation, ne peut se marier avec une personne qui dépende d'une habitation, ou de qui les descen-

dans dépendent d'une habitation. C'est pour empêcher à ces officiers ou militaires d'avoir des prétentions de retirer d'une habitation leurs femmes ou parens. Il n'accorderoit le mariage dans ce cas que lorsqu'on lui promettroit dans la petition qu'on étoit obligé de lui présenter, de ne pas déranger la femme de la culture de l'habitation d'où elle dépendoit, ou de mentionner dans sa petition que la femme ou ses descendans ne dépendoient d'aucune habitation : mais dans l'un et l'autre cas, il prenoit toutes les informations nécessaires par écrit, et vous faisant présenter la femme.

“ Les habitations étoient tenues de fournir au commandant militaire une quantité de cassaves, de bananes, huile, charbons, pois ou riz pour le besoin du magasin d'état, pour servir à nourrir les prisonniers, ouvriers et travailleurs employés aux travaux du roi ; et quand le gérant ne pouvoit pas fournir de son sol, soit par son négligence ou comment, il étoit tenu à s'en pourvoir de sa poche ; mais le propriétaire ou fermier n'avoit rien de ça sur sa responsabilité. Chaque habitation, suivant la force de bras qu'il avoit, fournissoit tant de personnes tous les Samedis, tant pour les travaux de la citadelle, que pour les autres corvais, et tant pour l'entretien des places à vivres de l'état.”

It may be, however, illustrative of the difference between the *written* and the *common* law of Haiti, to refer to his Code\* of Agriculture, which formed a part of the Code Henri, issued under his auspices after his assumption of the royal dignity.

It consisted of eight sections, which treat in succession :—

1st. Of the duties of proprietors and farmers ; of the obligations of labourers ; and of the police of gangs.

2d. Of cultivation of greater objects.

3d. Of provision grounds.

4th. Of the mode of division of the fourth allotted to cultivators.

5th. Of public works.

6th. Of pounds (for cattle).

7th. Of breeding-farms, &c.

8th. Of punishments.

By reference to the document itself, it will be seen that idleness was considered a flagrant offence, and that, even by the published law, severe punishment followed the detection of it; but the circumstantial details of the secretary leave no doubt that the practice was still more rigorous.

\* See the extract in the Parliamentary papers and the Code itself.

Under Petion's government there was a great affectation of promoting every sort of industry, especially that of agriculture; but the desire of propitiating all classes, by giving way to their favourite passion, idleness, was all-powerful.

Although nothing was done, much was said and written, respecting agriculture and commerce. In the constitution of 1806, and in its revision in 1816, the tenth section is devoted to those subjects; and, by the thirty-fourth article, the former of these is made the subject of one of three national festivals, under the title of "*fête d'agriculture*," on the 1st May. Whatever may have been intended, it seems certain that the numerous small grants made in consequence of a general order of the late president, and acted upon both by himself and his successor, have contributed to cause the decline of combined industry, and will probably continue to do so in spite of every coercive measure that may be adopted.

During Rigaud's, and after him, Borgella's administration in the South, Polverel's regulations were enforced; and I have been informed by an officer of the highest rank in that department that Rigaud appointed a very celebrated man, named Le Franc, as the chief inspector

of cultivation, with unlimited authority to enforce labour.

As it has been already shown in 1818, on the death of Petion, the present president, Boyer, succeeded to the vacant chair. Since doing so, Christophe's suicide annexed the North to the republic, and the disorders of the East placed the whole island and its dependencies under one government.

Boyer professes to be very desirous of promoting agriculture; and it is certainly regarded as an object of moment by many of the officers of his government.

The last law on this subject is the Code Rural, enacted on the 6th May, 1826, and published at Port-au-Prince in the month of July of the same year. This code is the work of General Inginac, the secretary-general, and is intended to excite the industry of the country. Many of the regulations correspond with some contained in the code noir and the subsequent laws of Christophe; but the consequences of delinquency are heavy fine and imprisonment, and the provisions of the law are as despotic as they can well be conceived.\* All persons not excepted by the

\* See note (EE) in Appendix.



third article "must cultivate the earth:" they cannot quit the country for the purpose of residing in a town or village, without the permission of the judge of the peace, who shall not give such authority without being assured of the morality of the applicant, of his regular conduct, and of his ability to maintain himself in the town: he cannot send his children to school or to be apprenticed in town, without a certificate from the judge of the peace: he can under no pretext establish a shop or sell produce in the country, with certain exceptions as to the articles of produce and home manufacture: he cannot build a house in the country unconnected with cultivation. The code directs the mode of managing landed property; of forming contracts between the proprietor and farmer, farmer and labourer; of regulating grazing establishments: it also regulates the rural police, or the inspection by proper persons of the cultivation and the cultivators; the mode of repressing vagrancy; and of repairing the public ways. The law repressing vagrancy is very full; and although it is given at length in the Appendix, a short summary of its principal provisions will illustrate the principles on which the code has been constructed. All persons not farmers or proprietors, living in the country

without having contracted with some cultivator, are reputed vagabonds, and must be arrested and taken before the magistrate, who warns them that by law they are bound to contract, and if they refuse to do so they are sent to prison; and if they persist after eight days' confinement, they shall be condemned to labour on the public works until they agree to make a contract. After a contract is once made the provisions for enforcing its execution are strict.

Such have been the various modes employed for inducing or compelling labour for nearly forty years. It is next necessary to ascertain, as far as it is practicable, the degree of success that has attended each; and the only mode of effecting this with which I am acquainted, is to give the returns of the exported agricultural produce during the same period, marking, where it can be done, any accidental circumstance that may have had an influence. To form any idea of the general state an imperfect general table is given.\* In it the amount of produce of 1789 is stated on the authority of M. Page, formerly a wealthy colonist; that of 1801 on that of General Lacroix; and I have so taken it, from having been assured by the most competent persons in Haiti that it is tolerably cor-

\* See note (FF) in Appendix.

rect. The statements during the years 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, are derived from the official documents laid before the chamber of representatives by the secretary of state, in conformity with the constitution ; those of 1825 and 1826 are also derived from an official source, the regular details for these two years not having been drawn up or submitted to the legislature before my leaving Port-au-Prince.

As the information derived from this table is limited, I shall endeavour to supply its defects by tables of the exports from the different districts and ports. That of Cape Haitian is by far the most full, as it embraces the whole exports under Dessalines' and Christophe's governments, as well as of the republic. That of Port-au-Prince is more scanty, as it does not go further back than the year 1818 ; yet it shows tolerably well the progress of events for eight years, and is valuable, as the present system had its origin at that place. The return from Cayes comprises that of the whole of the southern department, viz. Miragoane, Jérémie, Tiburon, Anse d'Hainault, Aquin and Cayes ; for during the years 1810, 1811, 1812, Cayes was the chief place of export, and con-

sequently affords means of instituting, if not a very rigorous comparison, at least an approximation to the truth.

Jacmel is of no great importance as to amount ; but having formed a part of the republic during all its convulsions, I have thought it right to show the progressive changes that have occurred in its exports, by a short table for the last eight years.

The table of the exports from the eastern portion of the island comprehends those from Port-à-Plate, and the city of Santo Domingo, since the annexation to the republic in 1822.

From these statements, I would fain hope that some general inference may be made as to the influence of the various systems that have prevailed at different periods, although I cannot pretend to minute accuracy of detail.

Clayed sugar, which in the French time formed so important an article of export, that in 1789 the quantity exceeded forty-seven millions five hundred thousand French pounds, diminished under Toussaint's government to about sixteen thousand five hundred pounds ; in 1818, under Petion's rule, there were only one hundred and ninety-eight pounds ; in 1819, one hundred and fifty-seven pounds ; and in

1820, two thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven pounds ; since which it has ceased to appear on the returns.

Raw sugar was formerly of still more importance ; for it will be seen, on reference to the accompanying table, that the quantity exported in 1789 exceeded ninety-three millions five hundred thousand French pounds ; in 1801 it fell off to somewhat more than eighteen millions five hundred thousand ; in 1818 it amounted to more than five millions five hundred thousand, from which it progressively declined to two thousand and twenty pounds in 1825 ; in 1826 it again advanced to nearly thirty-three thousand pounds.

Coffee too has not yet made greater progress. In 1789 the export of this article amounted to seventy-six millions eight hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and nineteen pounds ; in 1801 it had declined to forty-three millions four hundred and twenty thousand two hundred and seventy pounds ; in 1818 it sustained a still farther reduction to little more than twenty-six millions ; from 1819 to 1824 it varied from twenty-nine millions to above forty-four millions ; and in the two subsequent years it has fallen off, first to little more than thirty-six millions, and lastly to a trifle beyond

thirty-two millions, or less than four-ninths of what it was in 1789.

Cacao does not appear to have been exported by the French colonists, and only six hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds were shipped under Toussaint; but since the republic has been established the quantity has varied from nearly five hundred thousand to two hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds.

Indigo has been in some measure abandoned by the old French colonists, yet in 1789 the amount exported exceeded seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Only eight hundred and four were shipped by Toussaint, and one thousand two hundred and forty in 1824; since which no mention is made of it in the official returns.

Molasses or sirup was an article of limited export prior to the revolution, owing to the greater perfection in the art of making sugar. It amounted to twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds in 1789; to ninety-nine thousand four hundred and nineteen in 1801; within the last nine years, only once (in 1822) two hundred and eleven thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds were shipped. Nearly, if not the whole is consumed, as has



been already described, in the manufacture of tafia.

The French exported no dye-woods, (which include logwood, fustic, and lignumvitæ;) but six million seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand six hundred and thirty-four pounds were sent from the island in 1801. Seventeen years after it had increased to six millions eight hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and one pounds; in 1820 it amounted to two millions; then to three millions seven hundred thousand; afterwards to about eight millions; fell to six millions six hundred thousand, to three millions eight hundred and fifty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-one; rose to three millions nine hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and ninety, and in 1826 increased still further, to five millions three hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and forty-five pounds.

The growth of tobacco too has much increased, chiefly from the East. From 1818 to 1824, the number of pounds shipped rose from about one thousand nine hundred to above seven hundred and eighteen thousand; and in the two subsequent years they have declined; first, to about five hundred thousand pounds; and secondly, to three hundred and forty thousand five hundred and eighty-eight.

Since the year 1822 (that of the union of the whole island under one government) cigars have been manufactured both for home and foreign use. I have no means of estimating the former: the quantity must be large, as the use of tobacco is universal. It appears, however, that those consumed abroad have varied from one hundred and seventy-five thousand to near four hundred thousand. The causes of these fluctuations I have not ascertained.

Mahogany is perhaps the most remarkable fact affecting the general position I consider established by the tables of exports. It is to be remarked that though mahogany, like the dye-woods, requires no cultivation, yet it requires more labour in cutting down, and in fashioning for the European or American market. It therefore partakes of the character of systematic labour, combined with no necessity for cultivation; in fact, the business is chiefly performed by nature, and a small portion is left to the Haitian.

In Toussaint's time only about five thousand cubic feet were exported; in 1818 nearly one hundred and thirty thousand; and in 1825 not far short of three millions. In 1826 the quantity exceeded two millions of superficial feet. The labour necessary for fitting mahogany

for shipment of late directly counteracts its augmentation in the same ratio with that of dye-woods.

The general results of this table appear fully to justify the conclusion of the decline of systematic industry, and of the advance of whatever, though chiefly done by nature, may be finished at uncertain periods by man.

The next table\* to be analysed is that of the exports from Port-au-Prince, from 1818 to 1826, which has been already referred to. In this return clayed sugar does not appear, although formerly an object of such extent. Raw sugar had in 1818 fallen off to one million nine hundred and ninety-four thousand nine hundred and four pounds, and since that year it has steadily declined, until in 1826 only one thousand three hundred and sixty-six pounds were exported, as I believe, to ascertain whether it was marketable in Europe.

Coffee, by the same return, has increased from eleven millions five hundred thousand to nearly sixteen millions of pounds, or about one-half of the total amount shipped from the whole island.

\* See note (GG) in Appendix.

Cotton has varied from about two hundred thousand to eight hundred and seventy-one thousand.

Cacao has fluctuated considerably, from forty-five thousand to three hundred and forty thousand pounds; but of late the smallest of those quantities was that exported.

Logwood has never been below eight hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds, nor above two millions seven hundred and forty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-three. In 1826 it exceeded two millions, which is the largest annual amount, with two exceptions, since 1818.

Nicaragua wood and *lignum vitæ* have also fluctuated. In three years (1823, 1824, 1825,) none was shipped, and the maximum exceeded eighty-one thousand pounds, while the minimum was about ten thousand five hundred.

Mahogany has risen from one hundred and forty-four to thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-nine feet. Nothing, however, is established by this increase, for very little is produced in the immediate neighbourhood. It is chiefly brought from the East, and this importation depends in a great degree on the means of direct shipment being more or less abundant.

Tobacco too has been increased from thirty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-six to eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-five pounds. In 1826 it was only seventy-two thousand one hundred and thirty pounds, or above double the quantity of 1823.

Ginger and cigars have lately appeared as articles of export in small quantities.

In the return of the department of the South \* the results are very similar. Raw sugar, which in 1818 amounted to three hundred and forty-one thousand nine hundred and forty pounds, has been reduced to nothing.

Coffee, on the other hand, has increased from about one million to above twelve millions five hundred thousand pounds; and in 1826 exceeded seven millions five hundred thousand.

Cotton has varied so much that it is impossible to say whether the variation has arisen from the great irregularity in the cultivation of it, or the uncertainty of the crop. The quantity at one time (1825) was about two thousand pounds, while in 1818 it exceeded five hundred thousand; but in 1826 it was something better than fifty-five thousand pounds, being about four thousand more than in 1810.

\* See note (HH) in Appendix.

Cacao has upon the whole increased in quantity, although very irregularly. In 1810 it was above thirty-five thousand pounds, and only in one year (1812) has it ever been below that amount; in 1826 the cacao produced was at its maximum, being three hundred and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-six pounds.

Logwood, Nicaragua wood, and *lignum vitæ*, have somewhat increased in quantity, although at no defined rate.

Mahogany too has been very uncertain in its progress; but the amount shipped in 1810 (two thousand five hundred and six superficial feet) rose nearly fifty fold in 1826.

Of late tobacco has disappeared altogether, as well as castor oil.

Sirup or molasses, which formerly was an object of some consequence, has altogether ceased since 1820. Pistachio nuts also, which at one time were a small object of export, have in addition disappeared.\*

The Jacmel return possesses all the general characters of its companions. Raw sugar is no longer an article of export. Coffee varies from about three millions to about five millions of pounds. Cotton has largely diminished in

\* See note (II) in Appendix.



quantity, having in 1818 amounted to above one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds, while in 1826 it was scarcely three thousand five hundred.

Cacao may be said also to have been abandoned; for, since the year 1819, only once, in 1824, the small quantity of eight thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds appears to have been exported. Even the dye-woods (logwood, Nicaragua wood, and *lignum vitæ*) seem to have fallen off, and in 1826 were scarcely a fourth of what they had been in 1818.

Since 1819 mahogany has considerably diminished; and although the decrease has been irregular, still it has been always going on.

Indigo cannot be treated of, as only one hundred and thirty-four pounds, in one year out of nine, were shipped.\*

The table of the exports from Cape Haitian is the most valuable.

The export of raw sugar was nearly doubled within the first of these periods; and during the fourteen years of Christophe's rule it was a regular branch of trade; varying, however, in extent from above five hundred thousand to six millions of pounds. Since the time of the re-

\* See note (JJ) in Appendix.

public, the amount suddenly fell in two years to two hundred thousand pounds, and ever since 1822 it has entirely ceased.

Coffee under Dessalines was at its maximum in the first year of his rule, and at the minimum in the third; altogether, it diminished in quantity. Under Christophe it varied from five millions to above ten millions; and subsequently it has fluctuated from about four millions to six millions five hundred thousand pounds.

Cotton was largely reduced under Dessalines; rose with great irregularity under Christophe to about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and within the last six years of the table has fallen off to little more than fifteen thousand pounds.

Cacao alone seems to have increased in quantity during the entire period of twenty-three years; as there is not one year in which the quantity does not considerably exceed that of 1803. The largest amount was in 1818, and the smallest in 1809. Even in 1826 it was more than three times that of the first year.

Dye-woods have varied, but upon the whole there is an augmentation. Under Christophe, it is worthy of remark that their amount was smallest in 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810, when the coffee crop was large.

Mahogany has only become an article of trade at Cape Haitian since the death of Christophe, and it has progressively increased in value.

Tobacco has also gradually risen in importance from three thousand seven hundred to above one hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds.

The quantity of rum exported has always been small, and was confined to Christophe's reign. At present, all that is made is consumed in the country.

Indigo, after a trifling increase, ceased altogether to be an article of export. The quantity of molasses is very small; and we may add castor oil, which does not appear to have been exported since 1819. No other return can at present be furnished.

No sugar is exported : the quantity of coffee has diminished within the five years of the return. No cotton (after a trifling increase) has been shipped in 1826. Cacao has also been reduced in quantity, as well as the dye-woods, tobacco, sirup, gum guaiacum, hides, and cigars. Mahogany is the most certain, although in 1826 it was much diminished.

There is one decided inference from the whole of those six returns ; viz. the positive decrease of cane cultivation in all its branches.

The diminution of other branches of industry, though not equally well marked, is no less certain than that articles of spontaneous growth maintain, if not exceed, their former amount.

Such are facts, authenticated by the best documents that can be procured in Haiti itself: the application of them to any other cases than that of which it has been my duty to treat is left to others.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## Commerce and Finances.

## COMMERCE.

THE present chapter may be considered the same as my Report to His Majesty's government, printed by order of the House of Commons, with very slight modifications.

Various circumstances conspire to make it difficult to draw up any accurate account of the commerce of Haiti, during the period of revolution and of civil war, which embraces thirty-one years, beginning in 1791 and ending in 1822. We know with accuracy the extent and nature of the trade of the colony under the French government, and since the year 1822 its general state may be tolerably defined ; but the intermediate period is little better than a chaos, in which a few faint glimmerings of light are

occasionally discernible. All this arises from the want of well authenticated records in the possession of the government, which reduces the inquirer, first, to the necessity of seeking in private hands the documents that can illustrate his subject, and afterwards of ascertaining their individual value.

The last inquiry is fraught with embarrassment, owing not only to the character of the Haitians, who regard all approaches from Europeans with distrust, but to an apprehension of risk, which many of them fancy would be incurred from the government by too frank a communication of any information to a stranger.

Besides these causes, it should always be recollected that as, under Dessalines, the documents of the government itself were rudely kept; so, even if procured, they must be considered defective. The same observation applies, though not with equal force, to the time of Christophe; for under the latter portion of his sway the value of authentic records became better known. It may further be considered a very extraordinary fact, that the utmost diligence has failed in procuring even a trace of any public accounts during the government of Petion.

Since Boyer's accession to power more re-



gular statements have been kept, but they are at best extremely defective.

In the Spanish portion of the island, it is said that no records of any kind exist prior to 1817, up to which time every official document was removed to Cuba. The intermediate documents from that time to 1822 were promised to me ; but they were never given.

Having premised thus much, I next proceed to compare, as correctly as possible, the different epochs of Haitian commerce, from the year 1822, at which the republic may date its existence, and regular records, and to approximate as nearly as may be to the actual state of things. The selection of this period of four years, in the present state of my information, is the fairest that can be made ; for it is only within that time that any return of a portion of the imports, and of the aggregate of the exports, can be obtained.

In pursuing this object, I shall keep in view, as nearly as may be, the order of the inquiries pointed out in Mr. Canning's general instructions, after giving a short outline of the mode in which trade is conducted in Haiti.

Nearly the whole of the foreign commerce of the republic is conducted by foreign mer-

chants, as the credit of the natives is not so generally established, either at home or abroad, as to command the confidence of European and North American shippers; but the business of the foreigner is exceedingly limited by the 21st article of the law of patents, as will be hereafter shown when discussing the general regulations affecting trade.

The purchasers from the foreigner cannot under such regulations be the great body of consumers. An intermediate class is thus created, chiefly if not exclusively composed of women, called "marchandes," who employ a number of hucksters that traverse the country, attend the markets, and give an account to their employers, either every evening, once a week, or once a month, according to their characters.

On the first opening of the Haitian trade the foreigner imported chiefly on his own account; he was cautious in his credits, and thus made money. His success led a host of commission merchants over, who, to command the market, gave unlimited credit. This has proved most ruinous, and the consequence has been restricted credits.

In this way the consumers are chiefly supplied with foreign goods. There are, however, some

Europeans and Americans that carry on a retail trade through the women that cohabit with them.

The purchases of the principal article of export, coffee, are usually made from the cultivator by the local speculator, who in his turn contracts with the consignee merchant for the quantity required, at a very moderate profit.

The principal articles of import are linens, cotton goods of all kinds, some few woollens, cutlery, iron goods, wines, brandies, provisions, (beef, pork and fish,) flour, butter, cheese, lard, candles (chiefly spermaceti), refined sugar, oil, lumber generally, coarse iron goods, earthenware, tin plates, with many minor articles, which will be specified in the account that will follow of the places from which they are obtained.

The staple of the country is coffee; besides which there is cotton, logwood, *lignumvitæ*, mahogany, cigars, tortoise-shell, hides, cacao, cassia, tobacco, raw sugar, wax, ginger, and bullocks' horns.

Of the proportions of the different articles of import furnished by different countries, I can give but a very imperfect account; as returns can only be procured of their official value for

the year 1825, that for the three first quarters of the following year being defective. Even in the most accurate return there is neither a detail of the articles themselves, nor a specification of the sources from which each is derived. I was therefore obliged to collect and compare the opinions of different merchants, and thence to deduce general conclusions.

The following may be considered the chief imports from Great Britain:—printed cottons of all kinds, of English and Scotch manufacture, muslins, the same, cotton slintings, cotton cambrics, handkerchiefs in imitation of Madras cotton checks, dimities, stockings, quiltings, gingham, Irish and Scotch linens, platillas, white and brown britannas, kentings, osnaburghs, cotton and coffee bagging, woollen cloths, bombasins, ironmongery of most kinds, tin ware, Staffordshire ware, glass of all kinds, cutlery, paints, paint oil, cordage, army accoutrements and ammunition; some Indian goods are also shipped from Britain.

France supplies wines, cheese, taffetas, beer, butter, satins, liqueurs, lard, silk shawls, brandy, perfumery, silk stockings, oil, hats, confectionery, preserved fruits, shoes and boots, jewellery, linens, ornaments of all sorts, toys,

ribbons, parasols, gloves, cambrics, Indiennes, saddlery, hardware, military accoutrements and decorations, handkerchiefs, and some lesser articles.

From Holland the importations are small, and consist of linens of different qualities, chiefly German, cotton and coffee bagging, Russia duck, linen checks, inferior woollens, Hock and Rhenish wines, Spa and Seltzer water, cheese, hams, butter, lard, gin, cordage, paints and paint oil, hardware.

The small shipments from Germany consist of linens of the same kinds above enumerated, of some printed cottons, muslins, bagging, ironware, and similar articles as from Holland.

The imports from the United States are confined to lumber, provisions of different kinds, and some India goods, which can be introduced on lower terms than from Europe. The North American trade with Haiti has been uninterrupted since the revolution.

The following may be considered the principal articles of American imports :—mess and cargo beef, mess and cargo pork, hams in large quantities ; dried codfish also in large quantities ; salmon ; herrings ; mackerel, pickled in barrels ; flour, fine and superfine ; biscuits and crackers ; rice, in large quantities ; butter ;

candles, chiefly spermaceti ; lard ; soap, in considerable quantities ; tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine and other naval stores, and it is said a good deal of tobacco, that produced in the island being too mild for the natives ; cheese, in great quantities ; porter, cyder, vinegar ; spices of every kind ; gunpowder ; anchors ; cordage ; copper ; whale, sperm, and linseed oils ; iron hoops ; nails ; pig and sheet lead, and shot ; leather ; pitch pine and white pine ; lumber ; shingles ; staves (red oak, hogshead) ; assorted India silks ; nankeens ; seer-suckers ; Madras handkerchiefs ; blue and white checks ; muslins ; besides other minor matters, of which the detail would unnecessarily swell this report.

The materials for comparison of the increase or decrease in the imports and exports are exceedingly scanty. The only point on which a comparison can be instituted is that of the number and tonnage of the shipping inwards during 1825,\* and the three first quarters of the next year ; and to do this, it is necessary to hazard a conjecture as to their probable amount during the ensuing quarter. That, I shall for the moment consider, may be equal to one-third of the nine preceding months, which will bring the total number of ships to the 31st December 1826,

\* See note (KK) in Appendix.



to five hundred and twenty-six, carrying sixty-two thousand eight hundred and one tons, being less by twenty-six ships, or about four thousand tons, than in 1825. If we compare the component parts of this gross amount, on the same principle, we shall see that the American vessels, which, in 1825, amounted to three hundred and seventy-four, carrying thirty-nine thousand one hundred and ninety-nine tons, should be, in 1826, not more than three hundred and thirty-three vessels of thirty-four thousand and seventy-eight tons; being a decrease of forty-one ships, or five thousand one hundred and twenty-one tons.

In the British trade there should be forty-nine vessels, or eight thousand five hundred and five tons; or a decrease of twenty-nine vessels, or five thousand and forty-two tons.

In the Colombian trade there would be a decrease of one vessel of two hundred and nine tons.

In the Danish an increase of six vessels, or two hundred and seventy-nine tons.

In the French trade there would be the large increase of twenty-three vessels of four thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven tons.

The Germans, on the other hand, fall off from seventeen to five vessels, and from three

thousand one hundred and eighty-five to nine hundred and ninety-six tons.

The Haitian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish trade, are entirely a creation of this year.

It cannot be doubted that the decrease in the British, American and German shipping, is the result of bad operations, the causes of which shall be hereafter considered : while the increase in that of France is to be ascribed to the ordonnance of April 17th 1825 ; and that of Denmark to the renewed intercourse between Haiti and the Danish colony of St. Thomas. The facilities afforded to Haitian ships have led to the formation of a Haitian commercial navy, by purchases from other nations, even by foreigners using Haitian names. The solitary Russian is in fact British, as she belongs to an English house. The Spanish and Portuguese are not worthy of any attention, as the two in the enumeration were mere stragglers.

In the exports we have better materials for forming an opinion, even though imperfect ; for we have returns of them for 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, and the three first quarters of 1826. By these we perceive that clayed sugar, which under the French rule was the greatest object of export, has ceased altogether : that

the muscovadoes exported, which in the first year of the annexed series amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, or about three hundred large hogsheads, fell off in 1825 to two thousand and twenty pounds, or somewhat better than one hogshead ; and, in 1826, would (adding one-third to the sum of three first quarters) to forty-one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven pounds, or about twenty-one hogsheads. The quantity of sirup (that is, the inspissated juice of the cane, previous to the formation of sugar) exported in 1822 amounted to two hundred and eleven thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds ; since that year it does not appear that a single pound has been exported.

Coffee, the present staple, was exported in 1822 to the amount of twenty-four millions two hundred and thirty-five thousand three hundred and seventy-two pounds. In 1823 it increased about nine millions, continued to do so in 1824, nearly eleven millions more, making a total increase of about twenty millions of pounds ; but in 1825 diminished to little more than a total of thirty-six millions, being a positive reduction of eight millions from the produce of the preceding year. In the three first quarters of the current year the total amount shipped is

a trifle more than twenty-six millions five hundred thousand : if to that we add one-third, to complete the estimate for the whole year, we shall find the total not to be quite thirty-five millions five hundred thousand, which is a decrease of more than five hundred thousand pounds on the preceding year's export.

Cotton, which is gathered in very small quantities, has fluctuated from about three hundred thousand to one million of pounds ; but, upon the whole, the quantity up to the present period would seem to diminish.

Cacao has varied from three hundred thousand pounds to about four hundred and sixty thousand pounds ; but latterly the quantity does not seem to increase.

It is not a little remarkable that logwood, which requires no cultivation, should in 1822 have exceeded seven millions five hundred thousand pounds, and have gradually fallen off, till in 1825 it amounted to less than a half of that quantity ; and even with the addition of one-third, it does not amount in 1826 to five millions five hundred thousand pounds.

Indigo has ceased altogether to be an export, although in 1824 about one thousand two hundred pounds were shipped.

*Lignumvitæ* has increased in quantity : in

1825 it was, as will be seen in the table, fully double what it was in 1822, and with the estimated addition in the present year it would be still more.

Mahogany has varied from about two and a half to three millions of superficial feet.

Some minor articles have lately become exports; but from a reference to the accompanying table they will be found not worthy of present notice.

Upon the whole, with a very few exceptions of no great note, the imports as well as the exports may be said to have fallen off in no small degree within the last five years.

The chief causes influencing, as far as can be gathered from, as well from the preceding statements as from the concurrent testimony of foreigners and natives, appear to be nearly the following:—the imports may be considered as entirely for home consumption, there being no intercourse between Haiti and any of the neighbouring islands, except Curaçoa and St. Thomas; so that it would seem that the establishment of dépôts that may be re-shipped, that has taken place during the session of the present year, is wholly nugatory. The imports being exclusively for domestic use, their amount must be regulated either by

the wants or the ability of the consumer to pay for them.

The former are most small, from the nature of the climate; and the last again depends almost exclusively on the amount of the crop. It has happened, since the establishment of commission agents and the consequent increase of credit, that in some years a due proportion has not been maintained between the imports and the means of the purchaser.

The losses that have ensued have acted as a momentary corrective of this evil. Such being the case, the largest imports, unattended with ruin to the shippers, have taken place in years in which produce was either very abundant or the prices very high; and the converse was lately realised, especially during the year 1826, when, if any credit is to be placed in the estimate made of the decrease of the shipping and tonnage, there being no data furnished respecting the quantities of goods, the amount of the imports must have very sensibly fallen off.

We have seen more decidedly the decrease in the exports. If this reciprocal dependence of the imports on the exports be established, the last being the measure of the ability of the consumer to pay for the articles he may use, it



is next necessary to point out the causes affecting the probable increase or decrease of the latter. I am much disposed, after the most mature consideration, to think that they must for a long period decline, and I shall briefly state the reasons on which that opinion rests.

The causes influencing the cultivation have been already discussed ; but it will be right to touch upon them, in so far as they may be necessary to illustrate our object.

The various objects of cultivation in Haiti are of course liable to all the usual West Indian risks of drought, hurricanes, &c. which necessarily affect their amount as well as quality. But there are other circumstances that act more seriously ; among these stands foremost the diminished price of the whole of them, but particularly of the great Haitian staple, coffee, in all the European markets, probably owing to an increased production of it in other sources of supply. This diminution of value makes the return to the cultivator exceedingly small, and affords a proportionately small inducement to labour. A base currency, the issue of a paper money, having no real value, also conduce to the same end : but one of the most powerful causes appears to be, the exclusion of European industry and capital by

the thirty-eighth article of the constitution; the smallness and poverty of the population, which last, speaking in a national sense, is largely augmented by the “dots nationaux:” these have driven the persons who formerly laboured in gangs to cultivate their own properties, upon which their first care will naturally be the articles of primary necessity; after that, whatever will bear the highest price in the market; this is certainly not coffee:—the employment of almost all the male population as soldiers; and the frequent removal of them, even at the most critical period of the crop, to remote districts.

All these causes must and do affect the nature and extent of the exports very largely; but industry is most chilled by the load of taxation imposed to pay the French indemnity; it appears to paralyse all exertion.

From these considerations I am led to infer, that for some time at least there can be no improvement in the trade of Haiti: on the contrary, I much fear it will be considerably lessened.

It is proper next to advert to the mode in which the foreign trade of Haiti is conducted. It is also proper to state the general regulations that have been the means of establish-

ing that mode. By the law of patents it is enacted, that all persons exercising any trade or profession, excepting that of cultivating the soil, must be provided with a patent or license to carry on such trade or profession; that all strangers admitted as merchants into the republic, must in the first place procure the permission of the president to take out a patent, which when obtained, only authorises them, under heavy penalties, to carry on a wholesale business, not with each other, but with the Haitians in the open ports; which are Port-au-Prince, Gonaives, Cape Haitian, Port à Plate, Santo Domingo, Jacmel, Cayes, and Jérémie. The minimum quantities of goods that may be sold are fixed by the same law. The Haitian consignee may be also a retailer on taking out a corresponding patent.

The open ports above-named are divided into six classes; to each of which is affixed a scale of rates for the patents of natives; but foreigners must pay one thousand six hundred dollars at all the ports to which they are limited: but it is expected that in the course of the ensuing session a classification similar to that of the native patents will be made, and that two thousand dollars will be levied for each patent to a foreigner trading at Port-au-

Prince; one thousand eight hundred for Cayes, Cape Haitian and Jacmel; and one thousand six hundred for each of the remaining ports of Port à Plate, Santo Domingo, Jérémie and Gonaïves.

By an *arrêté* of the late President Petion, of October 15, 1814, the duties on British goods were reduced to seven per cent; while those on all other merchandise were ten per cent. The exception in favour of Great Britain was confirmed by a law of April 3, 1819, when the duties on all other foreign goods were raised to twelve per cent, and those imported in native vessels fixed at nine per cent.

By the last general law of the customs, the duty on all foreign merchandise imported in foreign vessels is fixed at twelve per cent, on an established tariff; and by a subsequent enactment, that leviable on the same goods in Haitian bottoms, on Haitian account, is reduced to less than that paid by the most favoured nation.

But the general law is partially abrogated by the acceptance, on July 11, 1825, of the king of France's *ordonnance* of the 17th of the preceding April, in which it is stipulated that French ships and goods pay only half duties.

The following articles are duty free in all

bottoms, according to the eighth clause of the law of the customs (Enclosure 9):—shot of all sizes, grenades, howitzers, bomb-shells, and other projectiles of artillery; iron and bronze cannon, mortars, muskets and bayonets, carbines, pistols, and cavalry sabres, briquets or short swords for infantry; machines and instruments for simplifying and facilitating the cultivation of the soil, and the preparation of its products; horses and cattle, mules, asses; gold and silver coin; classical and elementary works, sewed in boards or bound in parchment, for the instruction of youth.

The following is a list of articles absolutely prohibited, without reference to their place of growth:—mahogany, logwood, *lignumvitæ*, fustic, coffee, cotton wool, cacao, raw and clayed sugar, rum, tafia, sirup, molasses, canes, whips and umbrellas containing swords, stilettoes, or other arms; books and other works opposed to good morals.

The duties on exports in foreign bottoms (excepting French, which only pay half duties) are fixed by the nineteenth article of the law of the customs (Enclosure 9) at the rate specified in tariff No. 2. of that law.

Produce or merchandise exported in Haitian

vessels on Haitian account, pays one-tenth less export duties than the most favoured nation (Enclosure 10).

Besides the export, there is also a territorial duty levied equally on the produce of the soil, whether exported in national or foreign ships, as stated in tariff No. 2. of the law of the customs (Enclosure 9).

The export of the following articles is strictly prohibited :—gold and silver coin ; side and fire arms, munitions, and other articles of war ; old or new iron and copper ; horses, brood mares, mules, asses ; and wood for ship-building.

The coasting trade is entirely confined to Haitian citizens.

There are also levied wharf, weighing and tonnage dues, port charges, and water money, as will be seen by the tariffs Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, in the accompanying “ Loi sur les Douanes ” (Enclosure 9).

Haytian vessels, as they pay for a license, are not subject to the tonnage duty.

As far as I know, there are not any other legal charges.

The warehousing system has within this year been partially adopted. By a law of April 25th



1826, it is enacted that *depôt* warehouses shall be established at Port-au-Prince, Cayes, Cape Haitian, Santo Domingo, and Jacmel, under certain regulations, to the following effect:—Vessels coming from foreign ports must declare on entry what goods are destined for sale in the country, and what are to be warehoused. No goods are allowed to remain on board.

Certain colonial produce, the import of which is prohibited, such as coffee, sugar, &c. cannot be entered to be warehoused.

Goods warehoused may remain in store one year, paying a rent of one per cent; but they may be withdrawn at any anterior period, on payment of the dues, which, besides the rent, are for weighing and wharfage.

## FINANCES.

To the period of my leaving Haiti I was unable to procure any authentic documents of the public income and expenditure, on which any correct table might be founded, prior to 1818. From that year I have the official statements made by the secretary of state, Monsieur Imbert, to the end of 1824. The report for 1825 I believe was not drawn up when I was in Haiti; but from another document to which I have had access, I determined the income, though not the

expenditure of that year. From these documents I have drawn the following table:—

Year.	Income.	Expenditure.	Excess.	Deficiency.
	dollars. cts.	dollars. cts.	dollars. cts.	dollars. cts.
1818	2,646,017 16	2,144,291 99	501,725 17	— —
1819	1,832,904 60	1,660,101 60	172,839 0	— —
1820	2,213,440 15	2,030,251 49	183,188 66	— —
1821	3,570,691 9	3,461,993 87	108,697 22	— —
1822	2,620,012 6½	2,728,149 64	.....	108,137 57½
1823	2,826,693 78	2,557,228 28	269,405 50	— —
1824	3,101,716 69	3,105,115 55	.....	3,398 86
1825	2,421,592 65	— —	— —	— —
Total.....				1,235,855 55
				111,536 43½

This document is not to be considered complete, either during the first years or the last of the series, as Christophe's kingdom existed till the end of October, 1820, and the Spanish colony did not become a part of the republic till the beginning of 1822; and the income stated in the last is only the produce of the duties on imports, exports, and those on produce. In the other three years it may be considered as accurate as any thing can be obtained in this island.

No reasoning can be founded on the state of the revenue during the first part of the term from 1818 to 1821, both inclusive, with reference to the actual amount for subsequent

years, for the reasons already assigned ; but it may be noticed as remarkable, that during the whole of that period when the republic was struggling for existence, the income uniformly exceeded the expenditure ; and that the revenue of the whole island in 1822 was less by twenty-six thousand five hundred dollars than that of the republic in 1818, when only one of four governments. In 1818, too, the income exceeded the expenditure by half a million of dollars. In 1822 there was a deficiency of one hundred and eight thousand one hundred and thirty-seven dollars, indicating, that although additional expense was incurred by the accession of territories, the real resources of the country had fallen off.

In 1823 there was a surplus of revenue ; but in 1824 there was a small deficiency, in spite of a considerable augmentation of income. No report of the income of 1825 had been made by the secretary of state during my stay ; although the constitution requires that it should be presented annually to the legislature, and application had been formally made by that body. I have therefore only the produce of the customs and territorial duties, to which I add one hundred and eighty-one thousand five hundred and

fifty dollars, being the average of all the other regularly leviable taxes, which brings my estimate to about two millions six hundred and three thousand one hundred and forty-two dollars; an approximation sufficiently near for my present object. For the expenditure, if I take the actual disbursements of 1824, than which it cannot be less; there would then be a deficiency of five hundred and one thousand nine hundred and seventy-three dollars.

The deficiency of the present year must be still greater, for the customs paid at Les Cayes for the first six months of the present year do not exceed two-thirds of the year 1824, and those of Port-au-Prince for the same time are not more productive. If a similar proportion be adopted in estimating the income from each of the ports (as may be very fairly done), the income would be reduced to one million seven hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and twenty-eight, while the expenditure would be at least that of 1824, leaving a deficiency of one million three hundred and sixty-nine thousand six hundred and eighty-seven dollars, without making any allowance for the interest of the loan already contracted, or of that which must, if possible, be contracted to redeem the

pledge given by the legislative bodies when they solemnly recognised the indemnity to France as a national debt.

Supposing this to be correctly stated, and the actual surplus of preceding years to be as per table, viz. one million one hundred and twenty-four thousand three hundred and nineteen dollars eleven and a half cents, more than the whole of it would be absorbed by the defalcations of the two last years: but were it admitted (which is incredible) that the deficiencies of 1825 and 1826 do not exceed that of 1824, the actual surplus would then be one million one hundred and seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-one dollars Haitian currency, a sum insufficient for their extraordinary expenditure.

The loan raised in France last year by the Haitian commissioners, for thirty millions of francs, at six per cent interest, only produced twenty-four millions, leaving a balance to be provided by Haiti of six millions of francs to complete the first instalment, due on the 31st of December, 1825, besides the amount of commissions and other charges incidental to the operation.

Eleven hundred thousand dollars in Spanish gold and silver were transmitted in the course of 1826, besides several cargoes of coffee, for these purposes. The value of the remittance in

coin, in Haitian currency, is one million three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, the Spanish dollars bearing a premium of twenty-five per cent or more ; an amount, independent of the coffee, which exceeds the accumulation of former years by two hundred and fifty-seven thousand four hundred and seventy-nine dollars, Haitian currency, if we can suppose it to exist after the paper issues.

Now all the preceding calculations were made without taking into consideration either the annual interest, amounting to four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, on the loan already effected, or on those that may be hereafter formed, or on the overdue instalments, provided the French government accede to the proposal of allowing those to remain unliquidated, paying an annual interest.

The actual expenditure to be provided for in 1827, without reference to future claims that must fall due, stood thus :

Annual expenditure	.	3,101,115	dollars.
Interest on first loan	.	450,000	—
<hr/>			
Total expenditure	.	3,551,115	dollars;
<hr/>			

to be provided for out of an income of two millions six hundred and three thousand one



hundred and forty-two dollars, the estimated revenue of 1825, or of one million seven hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and twenty-eight dollars, the estimate for 1826.

At one time the government appeared to calculate very confidently on the produce of the contribution law. The mode of reasoning was this : the population was estimated at one million : five dollars a head throughout the country was deemed very light taxation : this effected, five millions of dollars were readily collected in imagination ; to this were added two and a half millions of customs and other duties, on which the state depended ; thus forming a respectable but nominal income of seven and a half millions of dollars : out of which five were destined to the repayment of loans and interest, to the formation of a sinking fund ; and the balance to the current expenses, which were to be reduced accordingly.

## CHAPTER IX.

## Army—Navy—Defences.

THE state of constant excitation in which Haiti was kept until the year 1825 is the reason assigned for the maintenance of a military force, disproportionate even to the largest population that has been assigned to the republic.

The general staff consists of a very numerous body. The president is commander-in-chief of the land forces and high-admiral of the navy. In his former capacity, he has attached to him sixteen efficient aides-de-camp and eleven that are styled honorary.

There are eleven generals of division in active service, and three unemployed; eighteen ge-

nerals of brigade and three adjutant-generals on service ; and five of the former rank with three of the latter retired.

The *état-major-général* consists of one general officer and three field officers ; besides which, there is an inspector-general of reviews and five commissaries of war and marine, who are in fact commissaries and pursers-in-chief : they are often military officers of rank.

Most of the general officers on service command the different *arrondissemens*, in which, as has been already mentioned, they unite the civil with the military authority ; and there are about one hundred and thirty-three “places,” forts, and military posts, to which commandants with their appendages are attached.

A corps of engineers, under the command of Colonel Rigaud, the son of the late general of that name, is maintained, as well as several artillery *depôts*, entitled “*Directions d’arsenaux et d’artillerie.*”

The first corps in the enumeration of the Haitian army is the *gendarmerie* : it is a mounted body, and is employed in the police, in forwarding dispatches, in the post-office service, and in executing process emanating from the courts of justice. No man is eligible

for this service unless he has served at least three years in another corps of the army, with an irreproachable character. There are six legions of gendarmerie, consisting of forty-eight troops: each legion is commanded by a colonel immediately subordinate to the president, and each troop consists of fifty men; so that, if the corps be complete, it would amount to two thousand four hundred of the élite of Haiti.

The next military body is the corps of the police, which was established a law of the 18th April, 1807. The duties are explained by their designation. The legal qualifications of the individuals composing it are *strict morality* and being fathers of families: they are also employed in the rural police, being under the orders of the judge of the peace. There were eight companies of them at the time I was in Haiti.

The defensive military force is composed of the guard of the president, of regiments of the line, and of the national guard.

The guard of the president consists of three regiments of cavalry, one only of which was mounted in 1827, and two of infantry: the cavalry amount to eight hundred and sixty-four

men, exclusive of the regimental staff; thus each regiment contained two hundred and eighty-eight men.

The infantry of the guard are divided into two regiments amounting to three hundred men each, exclusive of the regimental staff.

The troops of the line are divided into cavalry, artillery, and infantry. Of the first there were two regiments of dragoons at the time of which I speak, dismounted, of a strength corresponding with that of the cavalry of the guard; so that they amount to five hundred and seventy-six men without the staff. Of the second corps (the artillery) there are five regiments, each of which consists of nine hundred men exclusive of the staff; so that the total amounts to three thousand five hundred men.

There are thirty-three regiments of the line, each of which (with one exception\*) consists of two battalions or six hundred men, making a total of twenty thousand one hundred rank and file: thus the numerical strength of the regular forces without the staff is twenty-eight thousand six hundred men; so that the whole of

\* The seventh regiment has three battalions.

the regular paid military cannot be much short of thirty thousand men. I have heard the number estimated at above forty thousand men; but my statement corresponds with some returns that I have seen, as well as with the enumeration published by M. Courtois, in the "Almanach National;" and I therefore give it as more probable than any loose conjecture.

But independent of the regular force, there is ample militia force, entitled the "National Guard." According to law, every Haitian between the ages of fifteen and sixty, who does not belong to the regular troops, or hold public office, must enter the national guard of his commune. Even retired officers of the prescribed age must enroll themselves, and they then form a company of "élite," commanded by the senior officer of their number, and the companies so formed have the honour of marching at the head of the national guard.

Besides the two already enumerated exceptions, fathers of seven legitimate children, and actual cultivators labouring for others for a portion of the produce. All these exemptions, however, are unavailing when the country is in danger.

In addition to the companies of infantry in



each commune, it is imperative to have one of artillery and a troop of cavalry, each of which contains fifty-five men, officers included.

This service is purely honorary ; there is no pay, except when moved from their own districts ; and they further arm and equip themselves. The state furnishes the pieces of artillery.

In ordinary times these guards are reviewed by the commanders of districts on the first Sunday of every quarter ; but in case of alarm they are bound to assemble at their respective head-quarters ; and if put into active service, they become amenable to martial law.

The president names all the superior officers : the remainder are elected by the soldiers.

For the maintenance of discipline, each company has what is designated a " Council of Discipline," composed of the captain, two subalterns, the serjeant-major, one serjeant, and one corporal. I can form no estimate of this force, as I have no data on which I can rest it ; but public rumour describes it as exceeding forty thousand men.

Of the efficiency and state of discipline of the aggregate of the army I do not wish to express an opinion, particularly as that of a

mere civilian cannot be of any weight. A leading passion in Haiti is certainly military ; and if the institutions be not as perfect as they might be, it is not owing to any absence of love for the accompaniments of the profession. I may, however, say this much without exposing myself to any imputation of presumption, that I believe them capable of being very useful irregular troops, even though they might not be equal to fighting a regular battle. They are hardy, enduring much fatigue, resisting the climate, accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and by no means requiring a very well regulated commissariat.

The naval appointments are not very numerous. Besides the president, who is high admiral, there is one vice-admiral, Panayoty, ten captains of the first class, nine of the second, besides lieutenants, ensigns, and “*élèves de marine*.” The majority of these officers are employed at the open ports, where the whole police and management is entrusted to them. As well as I recollect, the squadron consisted of a few schooners (not, I believe, exceeding three or four) which were employed in moving round the coast, transporting troops and provisions.

Of the defences of the island it is not neces-

sary to say more than that nature has been most liberal in furnishing points that would easily be defended ; and that the yellow fever would effectually secure the island in case of external attack, if the policy of abandoning the coasts and destroying the towns be still acted upon.



## APPENDIX.

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NOTE (A).—The first of the following letters is given merely for the sake of the signature of Christophe when he was president ; and the matter is given in letter-press, as it possesses no particular interest besides connecting the signature with the author of it.

### LIBERTÉ ET INDÉPENDANCE.

*Au Palais de Fouache, le 28 Mars, 1809, l'an 6<sup>me</sup> de l'Indépendance.*

HENRY CHRISTOPHE, Président et Généralissime des Forces de Terre et de Mer de l'Etat d'Haiti, au Brigadier des Armées L. G. Dessalines.

Vous vous rendrez sur-le-champ au Mole ; vous y passerez en revue toutes les troupes bien strictement et correctement : lorsque la revue sera passée, les Quartiers-mâîtres se rendront à Fouache pour toucher l'argent qui doit être distribué aux officiers et aux soldats. Vous payerez une semaine de prêt aux

soldats, et un mois aux officiers; bien entendu ceux qui seront présents sous les drapeaux. Je vous préviens que ceci est indépendant de la ration journalière qu'on leur distribue.

Les postes de Fouache, du bord de la mer de Jean Rabel, et du Morne Souval, sont compris dans les présentes dispositions.

Lorsque vous aurez fini, vous vous rendrez au Port de Paix, pour me faire parvenir l'argent destiné au paiement des troupes.

The annexed lithograph, No. 2, is a fac-simile of a letter written from Christophe's dictation, and bearing his signature as king. The whole letter is given on account of the extraordinary huddling together of English words at the close of it.





ex: 114.



Au Palais de Saint marcel 25 Juin 1814  
l'an 11<sup>e</sup> de l'indépendance.

LE ROI,

au Baron de Dupuy, Secrétaire  
interprète des R.

J'ai reçu de votre Baron, votre lettre en  
Date du 24 courant avec la facture du brig van  
de Bremen, des gazettes anglaises et la traduction  
de quelques usages que vous avez faits,

Je suis satisfait de la manière que vous  
avez répondu au Lord Exnington dans la  
conversation que vous avez eue avec lui. You  
us me and of sufficient and of to no I always.  
Keeping good what and very of too far man  
always Keeping good what.

NOTE (B).—One of the German officers, to whom I especially refer, was named Neuber; he had been employed as an engineer in some of the fortresses, and was an excellent draughtsman. Wearied of the service, he was desirous of returning to Germany, and applied for permission to do so: this was not refused, but was delayed under various pretexts from time to time, because the king did not wish any European, intimately acquainted with his defences, to leave Haiti. At last Neuber was accused of having taken plans for the purpose of betrayal; and he was consigned to prison. There ineffectual attempts were made to starve him to death, by diminishing his allowance of food; but this being too protracted, he was taken out in the dead of night and bayoneted. I give this on the authority of a most respectable individual, who related it to me as a matter beyond dispute.

Among Christophe's correspondence I found several letters from the brother of this unfortunate young man to Dupuy, making most anxious inquiries for him, and offering any money that could be required for his liberation. The brother was a state councillor at Munich.

Another German officer, whose name has escaped me, was kept in close custody by the king's orders, and would probably have shared the fate of his comrade, had not the death of the former liberated him. He and his wife were set free by the republican army, in a state of extreme exhaustion.

NOTE (C).—The copy of the sentence was given to me by a person of rank and influence in Haiti, and had been made from the original in his possession for me. It was lodged with other documents of importance; but unfortunately it has been mislaid, so that it cannot be found at the moment. This I regret; for I always prefer such evidence to a mere general description, which subjects the narrator to imputation from those who wish his facts to be untrue.

NOTE (D).—The two following documents are those alluded to in the text. The first is dated Sans-Souci, 28th January,

1816, from the King to Baron Dupuy, approving of his proceedings in the case of Davidson ; and it was probably written in reply to some report made upon the subject, which does not appear. The latter part of the letter, though not referring to Davidson, is illustrative of the summary operations of King Henry.

It appears that the proceedings against Davidson had excited considerable attention in Europe ; and, to explain away the transaction, the report marked No. 2. was made on the 6th February, 1817, by Baron Dupuy to the King, in which the transactions receive a very different appearance from what is conveyed by the King's approval.

It is said in Haiti, that to put a stop to any application for the interference of the British government, thirty thousand dollars were paid to Mr. Davidson. I have no written proof of this ; but it is confidently asserted, and I never heard it contradicted.

No. 1.

*Au Palais de Sans-Souci, le 28 Janvier, 1816,  
l'an 13<sup>e</sup> de l'Indépendance.*

LE ROI,

Au Baron de DUPUY, Secrétaire Interprète du Roi.

J'approuve infiniment, Baron, la conduite que vous avez tenue envers le Sieur Davidson ; vous avez très bien fait de le faire mettre au secret ; je donne l'ordre au gouverneur de le faire mettre au secret, aux serre-pouces et aux fers, où il restera à mes ordres, sans le laisser communiquer avec qui que ce soit : il ne mangera exactement que la ration qu'on donne aux prisonniers, car c'est un véritable espion, pris en espionnage. Si vous continuez à votre surveillance active, vous en prendrez d'autres. Il faut approfondir cette affaire. Vous garderez par-devant vous soigneusement la lettre de Davidson, comme une preuve de conviction de son crime.

J'envoie le Baron de Dessalines au Cap Henry, pour toucher de suite des mains du Sieur French la somme de 1632 f. qu'il

doit au Comte de Laxavon, et dont il lui refuse le paiement : dans le cas contraire, le gouverneur ——— a l'ordre de faire mettre French aux barrières neuves au secret jusqu'à ce qu'il ait soldé ce qu'il doit au dit Comte de Laxavon, ainsi qu'à plusieurs personnes qu'il ne veut pas payer.

Par le Roi,

(Signé) DELIMONADE.

No. 2.

*Rapport circonstancié fait par le Baron de Dupuy au Roi, sur les raisons qui ont donné lieu à l'emprisonnement du Sieur T. Davidson.*

Le Sieur Davidson se présenta à mon bureau le 20 Janvier 1816, avec plusieurs lettres pour être expédiées par un exprès par terre à Port Plate : il me demanda mon avis, comme d'usage, pour que ces lettres, sans être lues par aucun fonctionnaire, passent la frontière : j'étais très occupé en ce moment, et lui dis, dites laisser à l'exprès qui devait les porter, et que j'allais les viser. Il revient quelques minutes après, et me témoigna qu'il avait absolument besoin de faire partir son exprès avec les lettres en mains : je les pris, et en trouvai trois qui n'étaient pas cachetées ; je les ai visées sans les lire ; mais la 4<sup>e</sup>, qu'il tenait encore en mains, et qu'il me présenta, était cachetée. Je crus devoir d'abord l'ouvrir, car elle me parut suspecte, étant la seule cachetée ; en effet j'y trouve le passage suivant :—

“ Le Roi Henry n'a eu aucun succès dans la partie du Sud contre Pétion : ses bâtimens sont retournés avec un sloop seulement de prise, et ont été fréquemment chassés par ceux de Pétion ; ses troupes ont toutes été prises. D'après cela, si vous le jugez nécessaire d'aller dans le Sud, vous pouvez le faire avec assurance ; le campêche vaut, au Port-au-Prince, de 20 à 25 ff. le tonneau. Dans l'espérance de vous voir ici bientôt,

(Signé) “ JAMES DAVIDSON.”

Comme il y avait trois semaines que l'expédition pour Jérémie était partie et que je n'en avais aucune nouvelle, et

comme il était arrivé dans le cours de la journée même trois bâtimens étrangers de St. Thomas, des Etats-Unis, et de la partie Espagnole, je désirais savoir du Sieur Davidson par quelle voie il avait reçu ces nouvelles, qu'il donnait avec tant d'assurance : je lui demandai d'où il avait reçu ces nouvelles ; il me dit avec un ton de hauteur, qu'il ne voulait me nommer la personne, qu'il l'avait appris du caffè public : je lui dis qu'il ne dit pas dans sa lettre "j'ai ouï dire," mais qu'il "assurait positivement," et qu'en conséquence j'avais besoin des informations sur cette affaire. Il refusa formellement, en me disant qu'il ne me devait pas compte de ses desseins. Sur ce je l'ai fait comparaître par-devant le gouverneur (qui était malade, et qui l'a reçu dans sa chambre,) où étant rendu, il refusa de même de me dire par quelle voie il avait su ces nouvelles. Le gouverneur me dit qu'il avait appris qu'il y avait des émissaires du Port-au-Prince cachés dans la ville, qui faisaient courir de faux bruits, et qui tâchaient de jeter l'alarme parmi le peuple ; que peut-être le Sieur Davidson avait parlé avec eux. Il y en avait déjà deux d'arrêtés de ces émissaires étrangers sortant de la partie Espagnole. Je dis alors au Sieur Davidson, 'Si vous ne voulez pas me faire connoître la personne qui vous a assuré que l'expédition était manquée, j'inviterai le gouverneur à vous mettre à la barrière neuve, jusqu'à ce que vous me fassiez connoître celui qui vous a donné ces nouvelles : sur son refus positif, j'invitai le gouverneur à le mettre en prison, dans l'espoir qu'il m'eût dit la chose : le gouverneur le fit conduire par un adjudant de place à la prison, qui remit Davidson au concierge : j'ai appris que cet adjudant avait dit au concierge que Davidson était soupçonné d'espionnage, et que le géolier lui fit mettre les serrepouces ; mais le gouverneur m'a assuré qu'il n'en était pas question, et ne savait même pas s'il en existait là.

Sur le compte que je rendis à V. M., elle m'écrivit de faire assembler Messieurs les étrangers, et de leur lire votre lettre, en même tems de leur dire que si le Sieur Davidson ne disait pas de qu'il avait eu ces nouvelles, il serait renvoyé à la cour de jus-



tic:—j'ai, conformément à l'ordre, fait connoître à ces Messieurs le contenu de la lettre de Votre Majesté, de même que celle du Sieur Davidson, et sur 50 ou 60 étrangers aucun n'a cherché à rien représenter en sa faveur. Le Sieur Strafford, négociant Anglais établi ici, est le seul qui m'a parlé chez moi, et qui a demandé une permission pour aller près Votre Majesté à Sans-Souci; ce qu'il a obtenu sans difficulté, et a apporté l'ordre... au gouverneur. Le Sieur Davidson depuis sa sortie de prison ne m'a jamais dit qu'il avait été mis aux serre-pouces pendant sa détention: il est venu plusieurs fois à mon bureau me demander des faveurs pour des dettes qu'il devait, et qu'on voulait le faire payer ou le mettre en prison, entr'autres pour 6000 fr. qu'il devait au Sieur Bourne et qu'il n'a pas payé: il n'avait en ville qu'une chambre, et pas un négociant comme on veut bien le dire.

Les Sieurs Bradock, Masson et Richardson, sont venus me trouver pour m'inviter à donner au dit Davidson un permis pour se rendre en Angleterre, et m'ont invité à m'intéresser à le faire partir, car il allait être arrêté pour dettes qu'il devait en ville. Je l'ai fait à leur sollicitation, parce que ne voyant nul moyen à Davidson de pouvoir payer ses dettes, j'ai pensé que la prison où ses créanciers l'auraient mis n'aurait pu le faire payer, et qu'en conséquence il valoit mieux protéger son départ pour son pays.

Telles sont les circonstances détaillées de tout ce qui s'est passé à l'égard du Sieur Davidson.

Cape Henry, le 15 Février, 1817, an 14<sup>e</sup>.

NOTE (E).—The first paragraph of No. 1. explains itself; the second refers to an officer named Vilton, the favoured lover of the Countess, who had, by being so, called forth the displeasure of the King. No. 2. is the order for his detention. He was imprisoned, and a few days after was found strangled.

## No. 1.

*Au Palais de Fort Royal, le 18 Avril, 1816,  
l'an 13 de l'Indépendance.*

HENRY,

Par la grâce de Dieu et la Loi Constitutionnelle de l'Etat,  
Roi d'Hayti, &c. &c. &c.

Au Baron DE DUPUY, Secrétaire Interprète du Roi.

Je veux, Baron, de chasser de ma cour la Comtesse ——— pour sa mauvaise conduite, sa mauvaise langue, et son intrigue : la punition que je lui inflige est de faire mettre elle-même son mari au liberté, avec les mêmes cérémonies que j'ai fait faire en la chassant d'ici.

Vous n'avez pas Baron, suivi mes ordres : mes intentions étaient, que rien ne soit déplacé de la maison de Vilton, pour la cargaison de ce bâtiment, sans mes ordres ; si vous les aviez suivies, Vilton n'aurait pas trouvé de fruits à l'eau-de-vie, d'amandes et des pruneaux, pour garnir la chambre de la Comtesse de ——— ici, comme il l'a fait ici.

Par le Roi,

DELIMONADE.

## No. 2.

*Au Palais d'Ouanaminthe, 19 Avril, 1816, l'an 13 de l'Indépendance.*

LE ROI

Au Baron de Dupuy, Secrétaire Interprète du Roi.

Je vous recommande, Baron, de surveiller Vilton ; car vous savez qu'il est lâche naturellement et rampant : et d'après ce qui s'est passé, il pourrait bien chercher à s'évader ; ainsi c'est à vous de le surveiller comme si de rien n'était, car je vous en rends responsable.

Accusez la réception de la présente.

Par le Roi,

DELIMONADE.

NOTE (F).—The two letters of the 22nd September, 1820, illustrate a very summary mode of dealing with delinquent financiers.

## No. 1.

*Au Palais de Sans-Souci, le 22 Septembre, 1820, l'an 17 de l'Indépendance.*

## LE ROI

Au Baron de Dupuy, Maréchal de Camp, Secrétaire Interprète du Roi, &c.

Je vous adresse ci-joint, Baron, les deux ordres de paiement, pour le professeur et maître d'école employé au service du gouvernement et pour le paiement du  $\frac{1}{3}$  en argent du passage des Africains importés à Haiti, ainsi que pour le paiement des deux tiers en café.

J'ai donné ordre au Duc de la Marmelade, de fournir une escorte pour conduire le Baron de la Tortue à la Citadelle: vous lui remettrez la lettre pour le Baron de Néré.

Par le Roi,

DELIMONADE.

## No. 2.

*Au Palais de Sans-Souci, le 22 Septembre, 1820, l'an 17 de l'Indépendance.*

## LE ROI

Au Baron de Dupuy, Maréchal de Camp, Secrétaire, Interprète du Roi.

Le Baron Joseph de La Tortue, Baron, n'ayant pas soldé ce qu'il doit à l'Etat, vous voudrez bien, dès la réception de la présente, le faire arrêter, et le faire conduire sous escorte à la citadelle Henry, pour y être employé aux travaux jusqu'à ce qu'il acquitte ce qu'il est redevable au gouvernement; ci-joint l'ordre pour le Baron de Néré à la citadelle Henry. Vous ordonnerez à l'officier qui aura commandé l'escorte dudit Baron, à la citadelle, de m'apporter reçu dudit Baron.

Par le Roi,

DELIMONADE.

NOTE (G). Moreau St. Mery gives an account of a cavern similar to that mentioned in the text, which he states to be in the district of Borgue. See "Description de la partie Française de Saint Domingue," pp. 681 and 682. tom. i.

NOTE (H).—The account is almost literally and verbally that furnished by the sufferer, who was a respectable man at St. Jago ; but as the statement is written in very bad Spanish, I do not think it worth while to furnish it.

NOTE (I).—Art. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his allies, engages to restore to His Most Christian Majesty, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the colonies, fisheries, factories and establishments of every kind which were possessed by France on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas and on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception however of the Islands of Tobago and St. Lucie and of the Isle of France and its dependencies, especially Rodrigues and Les Séchelles, which several colonies and possessions His Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty, and also the portion of St. Domingo ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, and which His Most Christian Majesty restores in full right and sovereignty to His-Catholic Majesty.

NOTE (J).

#### DECLARATORIA DE INDEPENDENCIA DEL PUEBLO DOMINICANO.

No mas dependencia, no mas humillacion, no mas sometimiento al capricho y veleidad del Gavinete de Madrid. En estas breves y compendiosas clausulas está cifrada la firme resolucion que jura, y proclama en este dia el pueblo Dominicano. Rómpió ya para siempre desde este momento los gastados esclavones que lo encadenaban al pesado y opresivo carromato de la antigua Metrópoli; y reasumiendo la dignidad y energia de un pueblo libre, protesta delante del Ser Supremo, que resuelto á constituir se en un Estado Independiente no habra

sacrificio que no inmole en el altar de la Patria para llevar al cabo la heroica empresa de figurar, y ser admitido al rango y consideracion de los demas pueblos libres del mundo politico.

El ignominioso pupilage de 328 años es ciertamente una leccion demasiado larga, y costosa, que á todos desengaña por si sola y sin mayor esfuerzo del ningun fruto que se ha sacado de la fanática lealtad á los Reyes de España. Con este falso ídolo, levantado por el error, y sostenido por una supersticion politica, se habia logrado á letargar el espiritu, y burlarse de la credulidad de un pueblo naturalmente bondoso y sencillo. Ser fieles á la España, aguantar con una paciencia estúpida los desprecios de la España, no vivir, no moverse, no ser para nosotros, sino para la España, era todo y lo unico en que haciamos consistir nuestra felicidad, la fama de nuestras virtudes, y a la recompensa de los mas distinguidos servicios.

Si hai todavia entre nosotros almas tan bajas, y vendidas al servilismo, que se atrevan á contradecir estas verdades de experiencia, vuelvan por un instante sus fascinados ojos al espantoso estado de ruina y desolacion en que yace sumida la parte española de la Primada del Nuevo Mundo. No les pedimos que se remonten á la infausta época, en que una orden del Divan español fué bastante para demoler, porque no podia guardar las plazas maritimas de Bayaha, la Yaguana, Montecristi, y Puerto de Plata, á donde concurrían los Holandeses y otros extranjeros á proveerlas de las mercaderías, que la Metrópoli no les proporcionaba. Acérquense de una vez á los recientes sucesos de nuestra edad, comenzando su examen por el furioso uracan de la cesion : numéren, si estan dotados de tanta insensibilidad, el diluvio de plagas que arrojó de sí este torbellino, y difundiendo por el hermoso y fertil suelo de Haití, han convertido sus campos en desiertos, y sus mas ricas y vistosas ciudades en escombros y cenizas. Echen todavia, si quieren un denso velo sobre la melancólica historia de las muertes, hambres,

y demas horrores del ultimo sitio, que pusieron á esta capital los naturales para arriancar su posesion del poder de los Franceses, y fígense unicamente en el dia once de Julio de 1809, dia para siempre memorable, en que la Isla abandonada, la isla que sirvió de rescate á las provincias Peninsulares, ocupadas por las victoriosas armas de la Republica francesa, y la Isla en fin que salvó en aquella crisis apurada el trono vacilante de Carlos Cuarto, de su libre y espontanea voluntad, ata de nuevo los vinculos disueltos por el tratado de Basilea, y se complace con el mas sincero y cordial jubilo de la estrecha alianza que renueva con su antigua y desdenosa Metròpoli.

Si Santo Domingo hubiera cometido desde su descubrimiento alguna enorme culpa, ó contraido un grave reato para merecer la indignacion y la ojeriza de la España, parece que con el arrojo y feliz exito de la reconquista tenia derecho á esperar un general olvido de su demerito, y las mas afectuosas demostraciones de gratitud. Sin embargo, salgan á la palestra los heroes de ese rasgo de lealtad nunca visto en los anales de los pueblos fieles, las viudas, los hijos, los padres de los que murieron peleando por ser subditos de una nacion que los cede, y acosa de su gremio, como á una manada de carneros, ó han muerto de necesidad, ó estan sujetos al mesquino socorro de dos y tres reales diarios de vellon : los que en la campaña ocuparon los primeros puestos por su valor y habilidad, apenas se entra en la plaza, descienden á los grados inferiores, ó se quedan sin nada. D. Manuel Caravajal, el bravo defensor de Mangangua, el segundo de D. Juan Sanchez, y que se duda no sin fundamento si trabajó mas que el, ó si se espuso con mas frecuencia á los peligros de la guerra, está por recibir una espresion de que sus servicios han sido gratos. Con el mismo dolor murió Don Pedro Vasquez, otro campeon de los que mas se esforzaron y combatieron por el logro de la reconquista, y al cabo de doce años sale diciendo el Editor de la Miscelanea del dia 11. de Noviembre ultimo, “ que para satisfaccion de aquellos á quienes



pueda interesar, se halla autorizado por el Gefe politico para publicar, que en oficio de 7. de Julio de este año, que le ha sido dirigido por el ministerio de la Gobernacion de Ultramar, entre otras cosas le dice S. E., que el Rey le ha mandado avisar al Ministro de la Guerra lo conveniente para que se despachen los grados y condecoraciones concedidas á estos naturales por la reconquista."

No es ya tiempo de que se nos quiera adormecer y arrullar, como á niños, con estas vanas esperanzas. Las mismas ofertas se han hecho y repetida en diferentes ocasiones, y estamos por ver su cumplimiento. Es menester que se nos repunte y tenga todavia en la clase de unos seres imbéciles y faltos de racionalidad como se creia á los principios del descubrimiento de la America, para que el Ministerio de Ultramar, el Gefe politico y el Redactor de la Miscelanea se figuren que con esa gota de agua fria puede apagarse el furioso volcan de la indignacion que ruge y brama reconcentrado en el corazon de los naturales. Para despachar patentes de grados superiores á los Europeos, conferirles los primeros puestos militares, destinar á esta plaza oficiales ociosos sin cuerpos ni compañías, organizar los dispendiosos ramos de artilleria y de ingenieros, recargar sueldos sobre las exhaustas rentas de esta Provincia, para estas y otras medidas que de dia en dia la llevan rapidamente á su esterminio, si han tenido sobrado lugar los ministros, y no se ha necesitado de reiterar las ordenes del Rey ; mas doce largos años no han sido bastantes á enviar los auxilios militares, que se han pedido con tanta urgencia, y de que hai tan absoluta falta, y menos para recompensar los sacrificios de los valientes y liberales, que derramaron su sangre, y dieron sus bienes para rescatar el suelo patrio de la dominacion francesa, y presentarlo como una fresca victima á la España en testimonio de la mas firme y tenaz adhesion.

Mas ¿ para que anublamos con estos amargos recuerdos el hermoso y despejado dia de la regeneracion politica de Santo

Domingo? Si la serie de injusticias, agravios, abusos, vejaciones y abandono, fueran el unico móvil de esta saludable mudanza, acaso ningun otro pueblo de America podria bosquejar un cuadro mas cargado de negras sombras y espectros horrorosos que esta desgraciada Isla. Ella fué la primera en el orden de los establecimientos, y está siendo la ultima en el adelanto, y progresos de cuanto constituye el bienestar de los pueblos. Sin embargo de lo cual, para justificar nuestra causa no necesitamos de recurrir á la odiosa enumeracion de las tempestades y vicisitudes que hemos padecido: sentimientos de honor, principios de justicia, razones de utilidad y conveniencia publica son los nobles impulsos que nos estimulan á pronunciar el divorcio y emancipacion de la España para siempre.

Desde el Cabo de Hornos hasta las Californias se pelea con ardor y encarnizamiento por el incomparable beneficio de la Independencia. En todas partes huye despavorido el caduco Leon de España, dejando desocupado el terreno á la fuerza y vigor juvenil del de America. Ya reflejan sobre el horizonte politico los crepusculos del gran dia de los hijos de Colombia: aparecerá de un momento á otro la risueña aurora de la Independencia de toda la America. Los aduladores de la España no pueden resistir tanto golpe de luz y se tapan ó apartan los ojos para no ver el magestuoso espectaculo de los estensos y poderosos estados que vienen con la cabeza erguida á colocarse entre las naciones; y cuando los mas remotos y desconocidos lugares concurren con sus esfuerzos al logro de las incalculables ventajas de esta nueva vida, ¿ seria decoroso á la Primada del Nuevo Mundo no tomar parte en esta heroica lucha? Santo Domingo ha recibido en su seno á la estudiosa juventud de Caracas, Puerto Rico, Cuba, y Havana: ha prohijado en el gremio y claustro de su Universidad á los naturales de todos estos pueblos cultos y sus adyacencias: los ha ennoblecido con los grados y premios de todas las ciencias: muchos de los heroes que figuran en el honroso teatro de su revolucion, bebieron aquí

los elementos del saber ; ¿ y puede hacerle honor, que habiendo sido uno de los focos principales de la ilustracion Americana sea la ultima en reconocer los eternos principios del orden social? La patria de los Morfas, de los Minieles, de D. Juan Sanchez, y Marcos Torres, la que ha sacudido tantas veces el yugo de las potencias europeas en Sabana Real, en los montes de Najayo, en Palo-Hincado, ¿ podrá mostrarse insensible á la inmortal gloria de derrocar y extinguir para siempre el tiranico imperio de sus Conquistadores ? De todo nos ha despojado la España; pero nos queda el honor y fortaleza de nuestros padres.

Sabemos con evidente certeza que los hombres renunciaron la independencia del estado natural para entrar en una sociedad civil que les afiance de un modo estable y permanente la vida, la propiedad y la libertad, que son los tres principales bienes en que consiste la felicidad de las naciones. Para gozar de estos derechos se instituyen y forman los gobiernos, derivando sus justos poderes del consentimiento de los asociados ; de donde se sigue, que si el gobierno no corresponde á estos esenciales fines, si lejos de mirar por la conservacion de la sociedad, se convierte en opresivo, toca á las facultades del pueblo alterar ó abolir su forma, y adoptar otra nueva que le parezca mas conducente á su seguridad y futuro bien. En hora buena, que los gobiernos, fundados de largo tiempo, no se cambien por ligeros motivos y causas transeuntes. La prudencia dicta que se sufran los males, mientras sean soportables ; pero cuando tocan en el ultimo ápice, cuando la misma esperiencia demuestra que el designio es reducirlo todo á un absoluto despotismo, entonces seria degradarse de seres racionales y libres, si los hombres no desechasen en el momento un gobierno diametralmente contrario á los altos fines de su originaria institucion ¿ Y quien á la luz de estos principios no aplaudirá como justa la que hoi adopta en el suyo la parte española de Haiti? Cuantos azotes, infortunios y desastres puede abortar la hidra del despotismo, otros tantos ha sufrido Santo Domingo durante su vergonzosa sumision á la

España; luego es de nuestra primera obligacion, y uno de los mas sagrados derechos que nos impone el amor á la patria, procurar con eficacia y por cuantos medios estan á nuestro alcance, la felicidad que la Metrópoli no ha sabido, ó no ha podido asegurarnos por állevar adelante sus miras de abatimiento y tirania.

Estamos plenamente convencidos de que para conseguirla y aumentarla, no nos queda otro camino que el de la independencia. Con ella tendremos leyes formadas por nosotros mismos, analogas al genio, educacion y costumbres de los pueblos, acomodada sal clima y localidad; y nuestra representacion nacional sobre la proporcion numérica guardará una perfecta igualdad entre todos los pobladores de estas provincias, y no servirá de alimentar la discordia entre las varias clases, como ha sucedido con las bases establecidas por la Constitucion de Cádiz. Arreglarémos el poder judicial de manera, que, ahorrandose tiempo y gastos, no se falte a la buena administracion de justicia en lo civil y criminal, ni se saquen los recursos fuera del territorio. Atenderémos con especial cuidado á la educacion de la juventud tan abandonada hasta ahora, porque sin ella son ineficaces todos los deseos de publica felicidad. Nos dedicarémos al fomento de la agricultura, de las artes y el comercio, como las unicas y verdaderas fuentes de la riqueza de los pueblos; arreglarémos nuestras rentas sobre el dogma fundamental de no gastar mas de lo que tenemos y es compatible con la riqueza territorial: vendran á nuestros puertos todas las naciones en estado de proveer á nuestras necesidades y de dar estimacion y salida á los frutos del pais; en lugar que la España, á mas de carecer de los principales articulos de nuestro consumo, nunca ha sabido negociar de otro modo que á beneficio de la esclusiva y con las sordideces del monopolio, que como hijo legitimo, nace y se deriva de aquel absurdo principio. Todo, en fin, lo tendrémos en casa y nada saldremos á buscar á mil y trescientas leguas de distancia, donde no se ven nuestras necesidades, ni puede haber interes en remediarlas al tamaño de la urgencia.

Enredada la España en el intrincado laberinto de sus nuevas instituciones, lucha con los enemigos internos, que á cara descubierta y con ardides maquinan su destruccion. Un pié de ejercito de cincuenta mil hombres de tropas veteranas, y de ochenta á cien mil de milicias Nacionales, son los espeques con que se empuja y quiere hacer marchar el lento y perezoso sistema constitucional: las potencias Européas mas poderosas le infunden recelo y sobresalto, porque, apesar de sus protestaciones de amistad y buena inteligencia, descubren sintomas del descontento con que miran la depresion de los tronos absolutos, en que todas ellas desean sostenerse firmes y tranquilas. Las legislaturas de los años de veinte, y veinte y uno que corre, han votado cada uno el empréstito de doscientos millones que les faltan para llenar el cupo de los gastos comunes y ordinarios del tiempo de paz, apesar de las bajas y cercenes que se lisongean haber hecho en todos los ramos de administracion publica. El oro y la plata de America ya no huyen precipitados á derramarse en la tesoreria de Madrid: los corsarios independientes apresan en todas los puntos de precisa recalada á la vista de Cadiz, y por todos los cabos litorales de la Peninsula los mal aviados y escasos vageles de su languido y mesquino comercio, porque no hai fuerzas navales que los protejan: y siendo este el verdadero y deplorable estado de la Nacion española, seria una consumada insensatez de nuestra parte esperar socorros y mejoras de la que los mendiga para sus apuros, y no atina á sosegar sus turbaciones domesticas.

Santo Domingo por el contrario: en medio de su decadencia está subsistiendo de sus propios recursos, y aun tendria mucho mas desahogo su hubiera fundado susistema administrativo sobre los principios de economia que le prescriben su estenuada poblacion, su agricultura y comercio; pero ha tenido que desentenderse de toda buena regla, para atender á las cargas que le ha ido echando encima su ingrata y desconocida metrópoli, en recompensa y para alivio de los males que nos aniegan desde

el ruinoso golpe de la cesion. Si la ley de los aranceles y reglamentos de aduanas no se hubiera suspendido y atemperado á las circunstancias locales, ya estarían cerrados de una vez y para siempre todos los puertos de la Isla, porque cuando mas se pondera la libertad española, es cabalmente cuando se ha tirado á remachar con mas rigor las cadenas del monopolio y la esclusiva del comercio. Los mismos correos conductores de estos preciosos reglamententos ni siquiera se dignan tocar en los puntos marítimos de la Isla que antes acostumbraban, siendonos forzoso pagar quien valla á traernos las sentencias de muerte para tener la barbara complacencia de ejecutarlas en nosotros, y con nuestras propias manos. Aqui está la sola cosa para que dependemos de la España, y no para que nos asista, provea y socorra en nuestros apuros y necesidades: hasta aqui hemos vivido esclavos y dependientes por habito, pero los hechos que persuaden mucho mas eficazmente que las rutinas nos demuestran y convencen que somos libres y emancipados.

Asi lo reconocemos y tocamos por nuestra propia esperiencia, y conducidos por ella declaramos y solemnemente publicamos, que la parte española de la Isla de Haiti, queda desde este dia constituida en un Estado libre é independiente: que el buen pueblo Dominicano ni ahora, ni en adelante, ni nunca se someterá á las leyes y gobierno de España, considerandose absuelto de toda obligacion de fidelidad y obediencia: que revestido de la dignidad y caracter de nacion soberana, tiene un pleno poder y facultades para establecer la forma de gobierno que mejor le convenga, contraer alianzas, declarar la guerra, concluir la paz, ajustar tratados de comercio y celebrar los demas actos, transacciones y convenios que pueden por derecho los demas pueblos libres é independientes; y que si la España reconociere y aprobare esta declaratoria será habida y reputada como amiga; pero si la impugnare ó por cualquiera via y modo pretendiere estorbar nuestras instituciones y la marcha



del nuevo gobierno en que vamos á entrar, sabrémos defenderlo con nuestras vidas, fortuna y honor. Viva la Patria, viva la Independencia, viva la Union de Colombia! Dada en la ciudad de Santo Domingo de la parte española de Haiti á 1 Diciembre de 1821. Año primero de la Independencia.—*José Nuñez de Caceres*, presidente—*Manuel Caravajal*—*Juan Vicente Moscoso*—*Antonio Martinez Valdés*—*L. Juan Nepomuceno de Arredondo*—*Juan Ruiz*—*Vicente Mancebo*—*Manuel Lopez de Umeres*, secretario.

## NOTE (K).

## ACTA CONSTITUTIVA

DEL GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DEL ESTADO INDEPENDIENTE  
DE LA PARTE ESPAÑOLA DE HAITI.

Los Ciudadanos Manuel Caravajal, Coronel del ejercito libertador y Capitan-general, Jose Nuñez de Caceres, Gobernador politico y Presidente del Estado independiente de la parte española de Haiti, Juan Vicente Moscoso, Diputado del partido de la capital, Antonio Martinez Valdés, por el primero del Norte, Licenciado Juan Nepomuceno de Arredondo, por el segundo del Norte, Juan Ruiz, Coronel del ejercito libertador, por el del Este; y Vicente Mancebo por el del Sur, reunidos en esta sala del Consejo municipal con el objeto de establecer la forma de gobierno que en las actuales circunstancias del momento parezca mas conveniente á mantener la tranquilidad publica, el buen orden de la sociedad, proveer á la seguridad y defensa del Estado en general, á la recta administracion de justicia, y al goce y ejercicio de los mas preciosos derechos de los ciudadanos; han venido en decretar, y decretan el siguiente reglamento provisional para el buen orden y regimen del Estado.

ARR. 1. Siendo, como es, la parte española de Haiti un estado libre é independiente; se declara: que la forma de su gobierno es, y debe ser Republicano; pero entre tanto arregla

un exacto sistema de representacion nacional sobre las bases mas convenientes, habrá una Junta de gobierno provisional, que se compondrá del Capitan-general, del Gobernador politico del Estado y de los Diputados, ó suplentes de los cinco partidos en que está dividido el territorio de la parte española de esta Isla. El Secretario de está Junta es el de la Capitania-general.

ART. 2. En esta Junta se acordarán todas las disposiciones generales, medidas de seguridad publica, arreglos de todos los ramos de administracion del Estado, y cuanto mas parezca util y conducente á consolidar la independendencia, ponerla al abrigo de todo ataque de enemigos internos y externos, levantar tropas, exigir é imponer contribuciones, abolir ó moderar las existentes, arreglar el orden de los jueces y tribunales para la buena administracion de justicia, organizar las oficinas de cuenta y razon, dar aranceles para el aforo y cabranza de sus derechos, promover la educacion publica, fomentar la agricultura, las artes y el comercio, y generalmente para hacer todo aquello que exija, y demande el bien del Estado para su prosperidad, union y seguridad, removiendo al mismo tiempo cuantos obstaculos se opongan ó arreden estos importantes fines.

ART. 3. Los reglamentos que acordará esta Junta tendrán en todo el Estado la fuerza y vigor de leyes, y el hacerlas cumplir y ejecutar toca al Gobernador politico Presidente del Estado, quien las comunicará con este objeto á todas las Corporaciones, Gefes y Autoridades, asi de la capital, como de los otros partidos.

ART. 4. Esta parte española entrará desde luego en alianza con la Republica de Colombia : entrará á componer uno de los Estados de la Union ; y cuando se ajuste y concluya este tratado, hará causa comun, y seguirá en un todo los intereses generales de la Confederacion.

ART. 5. Con estas miras se despachará á la mayor brevedad posible un Diputado cerca de S. E. el Presidente de la Repub-

lica de Colombia, comunicandole el cambio politico de Santo Domingo, y manifestandole los deseos de adherirse á la union de los Estados que actualmente componen, ó en adelante compusieren la Republica de Colombia. La Junta elegirá este Diputado, dandole las instrucciones, documentos y poderes competentes al lleno de su encargo: y este comisionado solicitará se le comunique la Constitucion general de la Republica de Colombia, para con su previo examen y conocimiento dar esta parte española su acto de accesion.

ART. 6. Otro mensage igual se enviará inmediatamente al Escelentísimo Señor Presidente de la Republica de Haiti en la parte francesa nuestra vecina, proponiendole un tratado de amistad, comercio y alianza para la comun defensa y seguridad de ambos territorios en caso de invasion enemiga, ó de maquinaciones internas contra su libertad é independencia.

ART. 7. No pudiendo haber verdadera libertad civil, sin la division de poderes, declara la Junta, que por ahora residen en ella las facultades del legislativo, hasta que en circunstancias mas tranquilas puedan adoptarse y establecerse las bases de la representacion nacional. La potestad de ejêcutar las leyes en todo el Estado toca al Presidente Gobernador politico, y la de administrar justicia en lo civil y criminal pertenece á los Jueces y Tribunales determinados por las leyes y con arreglo á los tramites y formalidades que prescriben las mismas.

ART. 8. Los derechos del hombre en sociedad consisten en su libertad, igualdad, seguridad, y propiedad. La libertad es la facultad de hacer todo aquello que no prohibe la ley, ó no ofende al derecho de tercero. La igualdad no admite distincion de nacimiento ni poder hereditario: la ley es una misma para todos, bien premie, bien castigue. La seguridad resulta de la confianza que deben tener todos los asociados de que los esfuerzos del cuerpo social no se emplean en otra cosa que en asegurar á cada uno sus derechos. La propiedad es el derecho de gozar y disponer de las rentas, bienes y del producto de su

trabajo, ó de su industria. Esta propiedad es inviolable, y ni el Estado puede tocar á ella sin una conocida necesidad, ó evidente utilidad comun, y eso dando la indemnidad á juicio de hombres buenos.

ART. 9. Son ciudadanos del Estado independiente de la parte española de Haiti todos los hombres libres de cualquier color y religion que sean, nacidos en nuestro territorio, ó aunque lo sean en país extranjero, si llevaren tres años de residencia, ó fueren casados con muger natural. En ambos casos harán constar los interesados al Gobierno las respectivas circunstancias por medio de una informacion ante los Alcaldes municipales, y la de haber vivido obediente á las leyes del país, ocupados en arte, oficio, ó industria honesta, y resultando conforme le despachará la carta de ciudadano, sellada con el del Estado, y autorizada por el Secretario de Gobierno.

ART. 10. La carta de naturaleza se concederá por el poder legislativo, obteniendo antes la de ciudadano por los tramites, y con las formalidades indicadas ; pero ni esta, ni la de ciudadano darán nunca derecho á obtener empleos de Gobierno, de judicatura, de hacienda, municipales, ni otros civiles y politicos : esceptuarse los empleos militares á que bien podrán ascender aunque sean los mas elevados.

ART. 11. Tanto los naturales, como los extranjeros comenzarán á ejercer los derechos de ciudadano á los 18 años de edad para lo que es concurrir á toda clase de elecciones ; pero no podrán ser elegidos á no contar 25 años, fuera de los casos en que por la ley se requiera mayor edad para algun empleo.

ART. 12. Los derechos de ciudadano se pierden :—1. Por condenacion judicial á pena aflictiva ó infamante ; pero estinguida, puede el mismo tribunal que la impuso, rehabilitarlo.—2. Por obtener empleo ó condecoracion de otro Gobierno.—3. Por admitir carta de naturaleza en país extranjero.

ART. 13. El ejercicio de los mismos derechos se suspende :—1. Por entredicho judicial á causa de furor, demencia ó imbe-

cilidad.—2. Por el estado de deudor fallido, ó de deudor á los caudales publicos.—3. Por acusacion criminal legalmente intentada.—4. Por no saber leer, ni escribir para lo que es ser elegido, pero no para elegir.—5. Por no tener empleo, oficio, ó modo de vivir honestamente.

ART. 14. Los deberes del ciudadano son los siguientes : está obligado á sostenerla independencia y libertad de la patria sacrificando su vida y hacienda en obsequio de estos sagrados deberes, á contribuir para los gastos del Estado en proporcion de sus haberes, ser fiel á la Constitucion, obedecer las leyes y respetar las Autoridades constituidas. Todo el que no los emplee, es mal ciudadano y responsable de la contravencion con arreglo á las leyes.

ART. 15. La casa de todo ciudadano es un seguro asilo de su persona y de cuanto tenga en ella : no podrá ser allanada sino en los casos determinados por la ley con un previo mandamiento judicial por escrito, ó por el juez en persona cuando en ella se comete un delito, ó se refugia un delincuente en fragante, ó perseguido por autoridad competente. Los lugares publicos, como fondas, cafes, botellerias, villares, y todos los que necesitan licencia del Gobierno para su establecimiento pueden ser visitados de dia y de noche, segun lo exijan el buen orden y el arreglo de la policia.

ART. 16. Ningun ciudadano puede ser perseguido, preso, ó detenido en la carcel, ú otro lugar publico, sino en los casos, y con la formalidad de proceso, que requieren las leyes.

ART. 17. Si el hecho que motiva la prision mereciere pena corporal, no podrá el preso ser puesto en libertad bajo de fianza ; pero tendrá lugar la fianza cuando solo merezca alguna multa pecuniaria, ó pena correccional que no esceda de un mes de arresto.

ART. 18. Subsistirá la libertad de imprenta en los terminos que ahora se observa, y bajo las formalidades y penas que prescriben las leyes existentes en este punto, hasta que se formen y publiquen otras que mejor convengan.

ART. 19. Por ahora, y mientras no se disponga otra cosa, continuarán los Ayuntamientos existentes, denominandose municipales, y bajo la forma de su eleccion, y renovacion en las epocas y partes señaladas ; pero en cuanto a sus funciones y facultades se atenderán á las que tenian y tienen por las leyes de indias, y á la policía de los pueblos.

ART. 20. Los Alcaldes no conocerán de demandas civiles sino hasta en cantidad de cien pesos abajo, y en juicio verbal, con esta distincion.—Si el interes de la demanda no pasare de veinte y cinco pesos, sin hombres buenos ; pero de 25 pesos en adelante hasta 100 . con dos hombres buenos que nombren las partes, haciendo sentencia el acuerdo de uno con el Alcáde. Y en lo criminal sobre injurias verbales, ó reales que no traigan aparejada pena corporal aflictiva, sino puramente correccional ó de arresto que no pase de 20 dias, tambien con hombres buenos. En uno y otro caso la sentencia se estenderá por el Escribano en un libro que deberá llevar al intento, y la firmarán el Alcalde y hombres buenos, dandose á la parte que la pidiere, certificacion de ella por el Escribano : este libro pasará de Alcalde en Alcalde, y se conservará en su poder.

ART. 21. Pueden igualmente los Alcaldes recibir informaciones de testigos para los casos prevenidos en el art. 9. de este reglamento, y para los demas en que verse interes privado, como sobre legitimidad de nacimiento, naufragio, muerte, ó ausencia, siempre que la ley no requiera otro medio especial de justificacion.

ART. 22. En todas las ciudades, villas y poblaciones del Estado se administrará la justicia en primera instancia en causas civiles y criminales, que no sean las contenidas en el articulo 20 de este reglamento provisorio por un Alcalde mayor, Juez letrado, que nombrará el Gobierno, y deberá residir en la cabecera de cada uno de los cinco partidos.

ART. 23. El salario de estos Jueces será por ahora el de mil y quinientos pesos pagados por el Estado : tendrán ademas estos



jueces los derechos de firmas y ocupaciones con arreglo á los aranceles existentes, y no podrán cometer las declaraciones en causas civiles y criminales, sino á los Alcaldes municipales de los pueblos, ó Alcaldes mayores de los partidos, sirviendose de exhortos con las inserciones conducentes ; y todos estarán obligados á cumplirlos reciprocamente, y á prestarse mutuo auxilio para la buena administracion de justicia.

ART. 24. Estos Jueces letrados serán remplazados en sus funciones en los casos de vacante, muerte, ausencia ó impedimento legal, por los Alcaldes municipales de los pueblos en donde ocurra la vacante, hasta tanto que, dandose cuenta al Gobierno, hace la provision ; y ante los mismos Alcaldes pueden ser demandados en las causas civiles y criminales que ocurran contra ellos ; en cuyo caso el Alcalde municipal se consultará con Asesor letrado.

ART. 25. Habrá un tribunal de apelaciones residente en esta capital, adonde las partes puedan elevar sus recursos en lo civil, y los Jueces las consultas de las sentencias que profieran en lo criminal. La denominacion de este tribunal será por ahora la de Cortè superior de justicia, y el número de jueces de que se componga, sus atribuciones, salario y orden de proceder se determinará á la mayor brevedad posible por otro reglamento particular.

ART. 26. Para la decision de las causas en lo civil, y la imposicion de las penas en lo criminal, se arreglarán los Jueces de primera instancia y los de la Corte superior de justicia á lo dispuesto en las leyes existentes al tiempo de la publicacion de la Constitucion politica de la nacion española, interin no se formen otras mas análogas al génio, educacion y costumbres de los ciudadanos del Estado.

ART. 27. La Intendencia seguirá por ahora separada del Gobernador. A ella toca todo lo económico, politico y gubernativo de los ramos de hacienda, la cobranza, manejo y distribucion de caudales ; pero las causas y negocios civiles ó crimi-

nales, de contrabando, pago de contribuciones y deudas, derechos incorporados ó de reversion, generalidades, correos, delitos de empleados en el ejercicio de sus funciones y demas causas y pleitos de que antes conocian los Intendentes, se determinarán en primera instancia en el juzgado del Alcalde mayor, y las apelaciones irán á la Corte superior de justicia para su decision en vista y revista.

ART. 28. Ne se hará novedad por ahora en los impuestos, derechos, rentas y contribuciones establecidas, sino que se continuará supercepcion y cobranza, cualquiera que sea su titulo y denominacion; pero el producto de las que estaban destinadas á los gastos de la Diputacion provincial entrará en la tesoreria general del Estado.

ART. 29. Cualquiera deuda que se contraiga de este dia en adelante para sostener la libertad é independencia de la patria, ó para acudir á los otros gastos indispensables de la administracion publica, será reconocida como legitima por el Gobierno, y todas las rentas del Estado responsables á su pago. En cuanto á la antigua deuda, contraida por el estinguido gobierno de España, se estará á lo que sobre este punto se resolviere por el Congreso general de la Union; pero las pensiones asignadas á las viudas, padres é hijos de los que han muerto en la guerra de la reconquista, continuarán satisfaciendose, y lo mismo á los que se hubieren inutilizado por la misma causa.

ART. 30. Con preferencia á los demas ramos de administracion publica se dedicará la Junta á la organizacion del sistema de rentas que parezca mas conforme á la situacion del pais y de su riqueza territorial, siendo una de sus primeras atenciones moderar los gastos al minimo posible, y cercenar el numero de empleados que no sea el mui preciso para el despacho de los negocios.

ART. 31. Cuando en la Junta de Gobierno se trate de aranceles de aduana, de la imposicion de un nuevo derecho, de la modificacion de aquellos que parezcan exorbitantes y de la

reduccion ó aumento de plazas en rentas y sus sueldos, asistirá el Intendente con voto consultivo, pero no intervendrá en la resolucion.

ART. 32. Quedan desde luego abolidas la Constitucion politica de la Monarquia Española, y las leyes, corporaciones y demas establecimientos que de ella dimanar, fuera de todo lo que va salvado y esceptuado en este reglamento provisional, ó se salve y esceptée por los demas que sea preciso formar en lo sucesivo.

ART. 33. Ningun Español Europeo puede obtener en el Estado empleo de Gobierno, de judicatura, de hacienda, municipal, civil ó politico, cualquiera que sea su denominacion ; para los militares de que habla el art. 10 de este reglamento, deberá antes haber obtenido la carta de naturaleza por los medios y con las formalidades que quedan prevenidas.

ART. 34. Por ahora, y entre tanto no se forme un nuevo arreglo de los cuerpos militares del Estado, haciendo cesar la odiosa distincion que hasta ahora se ha querido sostener entre el soldado y el simple ciudadano, y que ha sido en todos tiempos el origen de divisiones y partidos en el Estado, permanecerán los mismos que hai en la actualidad, gobernandose por la ordenanza general ó los reglamentos particulares de cada uno, escepto el fuero privativo de los nombrados cuerpos privilegiados, que cesará por entero y en todas sus partes, dependiendo los individuos de dichos cuerpos de la jurisdiccion de la Capitanía general.

ART. 35. Las maquinaciones, ardidés, proyectos, planes de sedicion, los tumultos, motines, asonadas y alborotos levantados, ó de cualquier modo dirigidos á trastornar el nuevo sistema Republicano, á destruir la libertad é independencia de la patria, á impedir el curso de las medidas adoptadas, á turbar el sosiego publico, ó inspirar adhesion á la España, serán reputados delitos de traicion contra el Estado, se conocerá de ellos á estilo militar, y se juzgarán en consejo de guerra,

ejecutandose la pena que se imponga á los delincuentes dentro de veinte y cuatro horas de la notificacion de la sentencia. En esta clase de delitos no hai fuero privilegiado, ni espcion que exima de la autoridad del consejo de guerra.

ART. 36. Los que fueren nombrados para cualquier empleo del Estado deberán antes prestar el juramento si fueren militares en manos del Capitan general ó Comandante de las armas, y siendo civil en las del Gobernador Presidente, bajo esta fórmula.—¿Jurais á Dios y por los santos Evangelios de reconocer y defender con vuestra vida, hacienda y facultades la independencia y libertad del Estado de la parte española de Haiti, ser fiel á Gobierno, guardar su Constitucion, (si fuere Juez, ú otro Gefe que tenga autoridad, se dirá y hacer guardar,) observar sus leyes, y obedecer á las autoridades constituidas?—Responderá el empleado, *Si juro*.—Y el que le reciba el juramento lo conminará bajo la formula siguiente: *Si así lo hiciéreis Dios os ayude, y si no, os lo demande, y ademas seréis responsables al Estado de todo abuso y contravencion, con arreglo á las leyes*.

ART. 37. Ningun empleado publico podrá ser depuesto de su empleo sin el debido conocimiento de causa, y por escesos y abusos que determine la ley: pero todos son responsables con su persona, empleo y bienes en los casos de resultar convencidos judicialmente de contravencion á sus deberes.

ART. 38. Si en el ejercicio de las funciones del empleo ocurrieren dudas á los funcionarios publicos, ya sea sobre la inteligencia de alguno de los artículos de este reglamento provisional, ó de cualquiera otra ley de las que deben regir por ahora en el Estado, harán la propuesta y consulta á la Junta por medio del Gobernador politico, y por el mismo conducto se le comunicará la resolucion.

ART. 39. Que se publique, imprima y circule á la mayor brevedad posible para su observancia y puntual cumplimiento en todo el Estado, conservandose esta acta original en el archivo

de la sala municipal para su constancia y perpetua memoria en los anales de la Isla de Haiti en la parte española; y la firman los ciudadanos que componen esta Junta provisional de Gobierno. Dada en la sala municipal de la ciudad de Santo Domingo, capital del Estado independiente de Haiti Español, á primero de Diciembre de mil ochocientos veinte y uno, año primero de la Independencia.—*Manuel Cararajal—José Nuñez de Caceres—Juan Vicente Moscoso—Antonio Martinez Valdés—L. Juan Nepomuceno de Arredondo—Juan Ruiz—Vicente Mancebo—Manuel Lopez de Umeres*, secretario.

NOTE (L.)—The following proclamation details all the proceedings:—

LIBERTAD.

IGUALDAD.

## REPUBLICA DE HAITI.

FIELES DOMINICANOS Y AMADOS COMPATRIOTAS!

No se me ocultan los cargos y reacciones que los malcontentos preparan, y aun han comenzado ya á vomitar contra mi conducta por los sucesos y consecuencias de nuestro cambio político, ejecutado el 1 de Diciembre último con el buen orden que todos han experimentado: yo respondo que los movimientos de la independencia comenzaron el 8 de Noviembre en Lajabon, en Beler y Monte Cristi, y que la capital no hizo otra cosa que salirles al encuentro con las puras y leales intenciones de conjurar la nueva furiosa tempestad, que reventó en aquellos lugares, y que en breve se hubiera propagado hasta llegar á nosotros, tal vez mucho mas cargada de funestos materiales recogidos en su tránsito: yo respondo en fin con el testamento de la nota oficial con que el Escelentísimo Señor Presidente de la Republica de Haiti ha contestado á las mías de 19 de Diciembre y 5 de este mes: nada os oculto, porque hace tiempo que debéis haber conocido la franqueza de mi procedimiento en las funciones del ministerio público: leed esta pieza con la meditacion

que debe inspiraros el interes de vuestro futuro bienestar ; y despues condenadme.

*Libertad — Igualdad — Republica de Haiti — Juan Pedro Boyer, Presidente de Haiti, al ciudadano José Nuñez de Cáceres, Gefe politico de Santo Domingo.*

Ciudadano—Ayer he recibido la vuestra del 5 de los corrientes con el documento que la acompañaba. Como el bien de mi pais es el objeto de mis cuidados, voi á entrar con vos francamente en todas las esplicaciones que requiere la situacion en que se halla al presente la parte del Este de Haiti. Si la verdad que me dirige puede ser apreciada por los que estan á la cabeza de los negocios en Santo Domingo, y si el término de sus solicitudes no es otro que el de la perfecta regeneracion de esta parte de la Isla, sumergida hace mucho tiempo en la humillacion y la miseria, esta regeneracion se efectuará tan pronta como pacíficamente, á satisfaccion de cuantos tienen en ella un interes real.

Desde la promulgacion de la independencia jamas se ha tratado de dividir la Isla : *toda su estension, comprendiendo las islas adyacentes, forma el territorio de la Republica* ; asi lo determina el articulo 40, titulo 2, de nuestra Constitucion, tan generalmente conocida en todo el orbe.

*La Republica es una é indivisible*, (articulo 41.) He aqui lo que estableciendo la garantia de la independencia, impone tambien las obligaciones que no está en mi mano derogar sin hacerme culpable, tanto para con la presente poblacion, como para con su mas antiquada posteridad.

Este es el momento de preguntarse, por qué la parte del Este no ha sido reunida á la Republica desde la promulgacion del acto constitucional ?—Porque los nuevos establecimientos no pueden llegar á su punto de perfeccion sino despues de haber pasado por la hilera de desgracias y catástrofes, que muchas veces acarrean la destruccion de la empresa ; y cuando no sucede asi, es preciso con todo que una larga esperiencia, fruto del



solo tiempo, venga á prestar su auxilio para alcanzar el fin propuesto. Esto es lo que ha sucedido en la Republica. Su historia de diez y ocho años atrás, nadie la ignora, y por tanto es inutil estenderse sobre ella.

Las calamidades sufridas por nuestro Gobierno son las que le han impedido á pensar antes en la reunion de todo el territorio ; porque aunque el vecindario de la parte oriental gemia entonces bajo el peso de las preocupaciones y privaciones, se hallaba sin embargo tranquilo, y hubiera sido inhumano, en aquella epoca, esponerlo á los horrores de la guerra civil, cuando no se estaba en disposicion de reunir todas las voluntades acia al mismo centro. Los sentimientos de generosidad fueron igualmente los que se opusieron á que mi predecesor diese á los que solicitaban los medios de sacudir el yugo de la Antigua metrópoli, como lo hizo con socorros de armas y municiones á favor de D. Juan Sanches de Ramires, cuando la generalidad de sus conciudadanos resolvió espulsar á los que por tratados habian obtenido la posesion del pais : y declaro, que el estar penetrado de los mismos sentimientos, es lo que me ha conducido á negarme constantemente á proteger los diversos partidos que me han manifestado la intencion de emprender el trastorno de toda dominacion estrangera.

Enemigo del desorden y del derrainamiento de sangre, estaba decidido á nunca dar asistencia alguna parcial á los ciudadanos del Este, convencido que no estaba lejos el tiempo en que yo podria obrar alli una revolucion del todo moral, que mudando la desgraciada situacion en que se hallaban, hubiera al fin colocado sin choques, sin violencia, á mis compatriotas de la parte Oriental bajo la proteccion tutelar de las leyes de la Republica. Este tiempo estaba indicado por la pacificacion del Norte. Yo recibí enviados de la parte de Santiago, de la de San Juan y aun de Santo Domingo, que me aseguraron de su voluntad á gozar de las ventajas de nuestras instituciones ; para no esponerlos á las calamidades inevitables de un cambio de estado, operado por la via de las armas, aconsejé nuevamente á todos la pacien-

cia, y me determiné por ultimo á dar un paso ostensible acia el pueblo, haciendo saber al Brigadier-General Pascual Real mis intenciones, y lo que la prudencia y humanidad nos prescribian á uno y otro. Con este objeto fué que envié la mision de que era Gefe el Coronel Frémont, que entró á su llegada á Santo Domingo el cambio acaecido el primero de Diciembre ultimo.

A penas te habia tenido conocimiento de los actos publicados en Santo Domingo, que me fueron trahidos por los mismos vecinos del interior, protestandome que si ellos habian demostrado algun entusiasmo con la nueva de aquella mudanza, era porque creian que conforme al acto constitucional, la indivisibilidad del Gobierno de Haiti era la esencial condicion de su resolucion. No me cansé de exhortarlos á la moderacion, y esperé para determinarme el regreso de mis enviados.

Llegó el Coronel Fremont y me entregó vuestro pliego, fechado del 19 de Diciembre. Me felicité de que no hubiera corrido sangre en el acontecimiento del 1 del mismo: me llené de estimacion para con todos aquellos que habian impedido su efusion; pero deploré el error que habia dictado la coordinacion de un gobierno separado de el que ya estaba establecido por la ley fundamental del Estado, y que se declaraba deber hacer parte de la Republica de Colombia. Inclinado siempre á la indulgencia, y á juzgar los hombres por la pureza de mis principios, he pensado que los que habian dirigido el cambio del día 1 podian haberse equivocado en la eleccion de los medios y aun haber sido dominados por circunstancias que yo ignoraba, y concluí que si era asi pronto volverian de su error, porque necesariamente el pueblo, mas desengañado, se daría á entender. No fué preciso mucho para ver realizado mi modo de pensar, y vos debeis conocer que no me he engañado. Los que se han declarado enarbolando el pabellon Haitiano han hecho, pues, su deber, han conocido sus verdaderos intereses y se han puesto á salvo de todo acaecimiento molesto.

Vos teneis, ciudadano, demasiada penetracion para haber

confundido el primer entusiasmo del pueblo al ver desaparecer el pabellon de la España con los sentimientos de su voluntad, manifestados hoi, esto es, de vivir bajo las mismas leyes que el resto de los Haitianos.

No hai para que hacerse ilusion : dos Estados separados no pueden existir ni mantenerse independientes uno del otro en la isla en que hemos nacido ; aun cuando el acto constitucional de Haiti no hubiera ya decidido la cuestion de su indivisibilidad, la razon y la conservacion de todos sus habitantes la hubieran exigido imperiosamente : bastará interesarse de buena fé en la prosperidad de esta isla para convenir en esta verdad : porque para ser efectivamente independiente, es necesario poseer en su seno los medios de defender esta independencia. La Republica, me atrevo á decir, ha adquirido despues de muchas borrascas todos estos medios, y puede hallar en ella misma los elementos necesarios á la conservacion de su libertad é independencia.

Como mis deberes estan trazados, debo sostener á todos los ciudadanos de la Republica. Los vecinos de Lajavon, Montecristi, Santiago, Pto. de Plata, las Caobas, las Matas, San Juan, Neyva, Azua, la Vega, &c. &c., han recibido mis ordenes y las obedecen. Yo voi á hacer la visita de toda la parte del Este con fuerzas imponentes, no como conquistador (no quiera Dios que este titulo se acerque jamas á mi pensamiento), sino como pacificador y conciliador de todos los intereses en armonia con las leyes del Estado.

No espero encontrar por todas partes sino hermanos, amigos, hijos que abrazar. No hay obstaculo que sea capaz de detenerme : cada uno puede estar tranquilo por su seguridad personal, y la de sus propiedades. En cuanto á vos, ciudadano, que creo estais animado, como me lo significais, del solo interes de la patria, abrid vuestro corazon al gozo, á la confianza, porque la independencia de Haiti será indestructible por la fusion de todos los corazones en un solo y mismo todo. Os aseguraréis de los derechos á mi estimacion, os conservaréis titulos pre-

ciosos para con todos vuestros conciudadanos enarbolando en Santo Domingo desde el recibo de la presente el único pabellon que conviene á la existencia de los Haitianos, que es el de la Republica. Espero que vuestra contestacion, que no debe tardar en llegar á mis manos, será conforme á lo que os impone y exige el suelo que os ha visto nacer.

Tengo el honor, ciudadano, de saludaros con una distinguida consideracion—Firmado—BOYER—*Palacio Nacional de Puerto Principe, 11 de Enero de 1822. Año 19 de la Independencia de Haiti.*”

Enterados ya de la resolucion de S. E. el Presidente de Hayti, nada me queda que recomendaros por lo tocante á la docilidad y sentimientos pacificos con que debeis aguardar su llegada, pues segun ofrece viene como padre, amigo y hermano á abrazarlos á todos y reunirlos bajo la egida tutelar de una sola constitucion: convida con la paz, y debemos todos corresponderle con la union: creed que esta es la ultima escena que debe representarse sobre el teatro politico de nuestra isla; su cielo quedará despejado de nubes tempestuosas, y va á comenzar para vosotros la dichosa epoca de vuestra seguridad y pronto alivio de las pasadas miserias: las ventajas y comodidades que disfrutaban nuestros compatriotas de la parte Occidental, vienen á buscaros: abrid vuestro corazon y dad en él lugar á la confianza de la mano generosa que os las brinda. Revestios de firmeza para no escuchar los ecos de las antiguas preocupaciones, y presentad al mundo politico el dechado de un pueblo amaestrado en las vicisitudes y mutaciones de gobierno, y que por lo tanto sabe acomodarse á sus diferentes formas. Todos son buenos si se goza en ellos de los derechos imprescriptibles de la naturaleza, libertad, igualdad, seguridad personal, paz sociable, y yo os anuncio que de todos ellos disfrutaréis con abundancia bajo la constitucion y leyes de la Republica de Haiti.—Santo Domingo, 19 de Enero de 1822.

JOSE' NUÑEZ DE CACERES.

## NOTE M.

*Libertad.**Igualdad.*

## REPUBLICA DE HAYTI.

## PROCLAMA AL PUEBLO.

## JUAN PEDRO BOYER, PRESIDENT DE HAITI.

HAYTIANOS.—El pabellon nacional flota sobre todos los puntos de la Isla que habitamos! Sobre este suelo de libertad ya no hay esclavos, y no formamos todos sino una sola familia, cuyos miembros estan unidos para siempre entre sí por una voluntad simultánea, que dimana de la concordancia de los mismos intereses; y así estan en su entera ejecucion los artículos 40 y 41 de nuestra Constitucion.

La reunion de los hijos de Haiti comenzada á obrarse de un modo definitivo hace tres años, y que se halla concluida por mi entrada en Santo Domingo, á nadie ha costado lagrimas; ¿ Quien desconocerá, en esta feliz revolucion, el poder de Dios que arregla los destinos de los pueblos?—Despues de haber estado separados, que digo, opuestos los unos de los otros por la politica de los enemigos de nuestros derechos, despues de muchos años de acervos dolores y guerras, su mano nos une y derrama en nuestros corazones el balsamo saludable de la amistad y de la concordia. Tributemosle acciones de gracias, Compatriotas míos, por la proteccion singular que no ha cesado de dispensarnos, y hagamonos dignos cada vez mas de tantos beneficios por nuestra fidelidad al juramento que hemos prestado de viver siempre unidos, libres é independientes.

Mas para hacer durable la obra de nuestra reunion y consolidar la independenciam de nuestro pais, es necesario tomar en lo pasado lecciones de esperiencia que os enseñen á evitar los escollos que no habeis superado sino por un valor y heroicos sacrificios; sabedoras por veinte y cinco años de vicisitudes de

que las virtudes privadas y publicas del buen ciudadano, del patriota zeloso, formam el cimiento que debe conservar sin alteracion el edificio que habeis levantado para asegurar la existencia de vuestra posteridad; que vuestro amor á la Republica, vuestro respeto á las leyes, vuestra obediencia á los magistrados que son sus órganos, sean constantemente la réplica victoriosa que podamos oponer á los sofismas de nuestros destructores, y la justificacion de los filántropos que han defendido y defienden todavia nuestra causa.

Poseedores de un suelo de maravillosa fecundidad, vuestra industria agricola, al paso que reciba el vuelo que necesita, abrirá vastos canales á las especulaciones del comercio extranjero, le asegurará resultados lucrativos, y aumentará de este modo, tanto vuestros recursos, como las utilidades de las naciones que han solicitado y entretenido relaciones con nosotros: á aquella que mejor sepa prestar homenaje á nuestros principios es á la que concederémos por inclinacion natural la facultad de subvenir con mas amplitud á nuestro consumo, y comprar la mayor parte de las ricas producciones de nuestro territorio.

Ciudadanos, vos que fuisteis las primeras columnas con que el inmortal Petion erigió la Republica, considerad al presente el espacio inmenso que habeis andado desde el día en que, abjurando la dominacion estrangera, determinasteis no volver á sufrirla, hasta el en que os veis llegados. Contemplad sin orgullo el triunfo de vuestros esfuerzos y de vuestra perseverancia: siempre fuisteis dociles á la voz de vuestro gefe y dispuestos á sacrificarlo todo á la patria; continuad mostrándoos dignos de lo que habeis sido.

Y vos, ciudadanos de la parte del Este, vos habeis sido desgraciados por largo tiempo: leyes arbitrarias y prohibitivas os han obligado á vivir en medio de las privaciones y del atortolamiento; con todo habia combatido para recobrar vuestros derechos; pero los que estaban encargados de dirigiros os volvieron



á poner bajo la dependencia de la metrópoli que os habia repellido de su seno traficando con vuestra sumision. Al fin os habeis movido espontaneamente, habeis querido ser libres y Haitianos como nosotros, y lo habeis conseguido : olvidad pues vuestra antigua condicion, para no pensar sino en la de que vais á gozar; abrid vuestros corazones á la alegria : vuestra confianza en el Gobierno no será engañada : éste se ocupará del cuidado de curar las profundas lllagas que ha formado en vosotros un sistema antiliberal : que en adelante no halla nublados que oscurezcan los hermosos dias que van á der luz á la patria.

Haitianos, ¡ en vano pretenderian nuestros enemigos alarmar las potencias estrangeras sobre la reunion de todo nuestro territorio ! Los principios establecidos por los articulos 40 y 41 de nuestra Constitucion, que nos den el océano por limite, son tan generalmente conocidos, como los designados en el art. 5 del mismo acto, y por los cuales nos hemos obligado á no hacer mas empresa alguna tendente á turbar la paz de nuestros vecinos.

Pueblo agricultor y guerrero, los Haitianos solo se ocuparán de los intereses de su patria ; no se servirán de sus armas sino para defender su independencia nacional, si se tuviese la injusticia de atacarlo ; siempre generosos, siempre compasivos, continuarán obrando con buena fé con los estrangeros que viviendo entre ellos respetaren las leyes del pais.

Mi destino era sin duda el instrumento de que debia servirse la Divinidad para hacer triunfar nuestra sagrada causa : solo á su proteccion es que atribuyo los sucesos que han acompañado mi administracion desde que se pusieron en mis manos las riendas del Estado. He hecho constantemente cuanto ha dependido de mí para merecerla ; mis dias serán consagrados igualmente á llenar religiosamente las obligaciones que me imponen la gloria y la prosperidad de Haiti. Yo tengo el derecho de contar con la cooperacion de todos mis conciudadanos

nos y contaré con ella para elevar la nacion al rango que debe ocupar en el mundo civilizado.

Viva la Independencia ! Viva la Libertad ! Viva la Republica !

BOYER.

Por orden del Presidente el Secretario General,

B. INGINAC.

Dado en el Palacio nacional de Santo Domingo á 9 de Febrero de 1822. Año 19 de la Independencia de Haiti.

NOTE (N). The report of the committee on the privileges of the Spanish Haitians is so very full and technical, that I have preferred giving the abstract in the text to swelling this Appendix beyond its proper length.

NOTE (O).

#### ORDONNANCE DU ROI DE FRANCE.

Paris, 17 Avril, 1825.

CHARLES, par la grace de Dieu, Roi de France et de Navarre, à tous ceux que ces présentes verront, salut : vu les Articles 14 et 73 de la Charte ; voulant pourvoir à ce que réellement l'intérêt du commerce François, les malheurs des anciens colons de St. Domingue, et l'état précaire des habitants de cette Isle ; nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit :

ART. 1. Les ports de la partie Française de St. Domingue seront ouverts au commerce de toutes les nations ; les droits perçus dans ces ports tant à l'entrée qu'à la sortie seront égaux et uniformes pour tous les pavillons, excepté le pavillon François, en faveur duquel les droits seront réduits de moitié.

ART. 2. Les habitants actuels de la partie Française de St. Domingue verseront à la caisse (générale) des dépôts et consignations de France en cinq tems égaux d'année en année, le premier échéant au trente-et-un Décembre 1825, la somme de cent-cinquante millions de francs, destinés à dédommager les anciens colons, qui demanderont une indemnité.

ART. 3. Nous concédons, à ces conditions, par la présente ordonnance, aux habitans actuels de la partie Française de St. Domingue, l'indépendance pleine et entière de leur gouvernement.

Et sera la présente ordonnance scellée du grand sceau. Donnée à Paris, au château des Tuileries, le 17 Avril, l'an de Grâce 1825, et de notre règne le premier.

(Signé)

CHARLES.

Par le Roi :

Le Pair de France, Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat au Département de la Marine et des Colonies,

(Signé)

COMTE DE CHABRAC.

Vu au Sceau :—Le Garde des Sceaux, Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat au Département de la Justice,

(Signé)

COMTE DE PEYRONNET.

Visa :—Le Président du Conseil de Ministres,

(Signé)

JH. DE VILLELE.

NOTE (P).—In the preceding note the ordonnance of the King of France is given. On examination of this document, it will be seen that the recognition is expressly limited to the French part of the island. I have been assured, on excellent authority, that the cabinet of the Tuilleries urged in vain the court of Madrid to join in the recognition of the independence of the entire island. While these sheets were passing through the press, the newspapers have announced the arrival of a Spanish negotiator at Port-au-Prince, in a large frigate. It is not at all improbable that this mission is intimately connected with this subject. It is very certain that Spain, which resists with such perseverance to recognise the independence of the Continental States of America, is the last power in the world from which a speedy surrender, even of absolute rights, ought to be expected.

NOTE (Q). “ Déclarons leurs affranchissemens faits dans nos

îles, leur tenir lieu de naissance dans nos îles, et les esclaves affranchis n'avoir besoin de nos lettres de naturalité, pour jouir des avantages de nos sujets naturels dans nos royaumes, terres et pays de notre obéissance, encore qu'ils soient nés dans les pays étrangers."—*Art. 57. Code Noir.*

NOTE (R).—No. 1.

The gentleman alluded to in the text is Joseph Arnould, M.D. of Camberwell, to whose friendship I owe the full communications that follow.

Playford-Hall, August 13, 1828.

DEAR SIR,

I now send you, in consequence of your letter, (for Mr. Mackenzie's perusal and acceptance,) all that I can collect, both from *minutes* and memory, relative to the late unfortunate Ogé, and first *as to my knowledge of him at Paris*:

When I was at Paris in the year 1789, I dined occasionally with General Lafayette. It happened on one of these occasions, that the deputies of colour, who had then just arrived from St. Domingo, had been invited to dine there also. Of course we met (with about fifty others) in the same room. The general introduced me to them, and when we took our seats at the dinner-table, he placed me between two of them, Mons. Raymond, a mild gentlemanlike man, and another, whose name I have forgotten. In the course of conversation I learnt their errand, and they learnt mine, which was simply to get the subject of the *slave-trade introduced into the National Assembly, if possible, while I was at Paris.* This first interview was purely accidental.

In the course of three or four days Raymond, Ogé, and the four others, called upon me at my hotel. It was a mere visit of compliment, in consequence of having dined together at General Lafayette's. I wished to return the compliment, but was prevented in consequence of not knowing their address. I was

told that they did not lodge together, but had separate lodgings of their own in different streets.

In about a week after this a mere accident brought us together again. They were going in a body (six of them) to consult their advocate, Monsr. Jollie ; and it so happened that in their way thither they passed near the street in which I lived. At this moment one of them proposed calling upon me, and the rest agreed. They came, they said, to inform me that they had been admitted the day before into the body of the National Assembly to prefer their claims, and that the president had assured them they might take courage ; for that the assembly knew no distinction between whites and blacks, but considered all men as having equal rights. They hoped soon to be admitted there as *deputies*. They did not stay more than ten minutes with me, and then left me, apparently all of them in high spirits.

At another time I received a message from Mons. Raymond to say, that he had something to communicate to me, and that he would bring one or two of his friends with him to see me, if it were agreeable. They came accordingly. He then said that the liberal speech of the president of the Assembly, which had given them last week so much pleasure, had called forth an host of the bitterest enemies against them. The *white planters resident in France*, and the *white planters* usually resident in the colonies, *but then at Paris*, supposing that they, the deputies, (who had slaves' blood in their veins,) were to have a seat in the assembly, and equal rights and privileges with themselves, had been worked up by that speech to a feeling bordering upon madness. They held nightly meetings ; they had sent to them (the deputies) anonymous letters, *threatening their assassination*, if they persisted in their claims. They said too, that they had reason to think that *these white colonists* had a design upon my life also, and they wished to put me upon my guard. I replied that I had received letters to the same purport, but that I should still go on as before. I had determined

however, by way of precaution, to change my hotel, and to go to another, to be near to General Lafayette for protection, and not to stir out at night.

I saw nothing more of the deputies for a fortnight, when they proposed a visit, to which I immediately assented. All the six were present. They complained bitterly of the white colonists in Paris. Some of these, whose faces they had before seen at the Cape, had insulted them, and particularly Ogé, in the streets; but what was worse than all, they had spread terror among many of the members of the Assembly, so as to make them believe that the *welfare* of the mother country would be *endangered by hearing their claims*: they appeared to be quite disheartened. They were now sure that they should not be able to make head against their intrigues. Day after day had been fixed for the hearing of their cause—day after day it had been deferred. They were now weary with waiting. Ogé could not contain himself, but broke out with great warmth:—"I begin," says he, "not to care whether the National Assembly will admit us or not. But let it beware of the consequences. We will no longer continue to be held in a degraded light. Despatches shall go directly to St. Domingo, and we will soon follow them. We can produce as good soldiers upon our estates as those in France. Our own arms shall make us respectable and independent. If we are once forced to desperate measures, it will be in vain that thousands will be sent across the Atlantic to bring us back to our former state." On hearing this I entreated the deputies to wait with patience. I observed to them, "that in a great revolution like that of France, the Assembly would have a thousand things to attend to *at home* before they could think of any thing *abroad*. France would *first* take care of *herself*—she would *then*, I had no doubt, extend her care to the colonies. Was it not reasonable to conclude that this would be the case, when they, the deputies, knew that they had almost all the first men in the assembly, such as the Duc de Roche-



faucault, Lafayette, Mirabeau, Gregoire, and others, in their favour?" I entreated them therefore to wait patiently, as well as upon another consideration, which was, that by an imprudent conduct, they might *not only ruin their own cause* in France, but bring indescribable misery upon their native land. They all seemed to listen to what I said except Ogé, whose mind seemed to have been so violently stirred up, that its emotions, like the waves of the sea after a storm, could not be stopped at once. This was the last time I ever saw all the deputies together.

I began now to think of returning to England, and concluded at length that my stay in Paris should not exceed another week. During this time I fell in with Ogé in one of the streets. He seemed to be very gloomy. He revived the subject spoken of at our last meeting, namely, the wicked and barbarous conduct of the white planters at Paris towards the deputies, but more particularly towards himself. We exchanged, however, but few words; for I told him that I was going by appointment to see a friend, and that I should be too late if I stopped longer.

I met him again by accident as I was walking in the garden of the Thuilleries. We stopped and talked. He appeared to me to be in an agitated state of mind. He said that the cruel treatment of the deputies of colour by the white colonists at Paris was not to be borne. From the white colonists at Paris he then went to the white colonists at St. Domingo. He said that the people of colour there were men of property as well as these—that they were men of education as well as these—that they had mind and intellect as well as these—that they had souls as magnanimous and courageous as these. He was going on, when I beseeched him to be more tranquil; and to pacify him, I told him that if he and his colleagues would call upon me in the evening I would be at home to receive them.

At the time appointed Ogé and three others came to me; the other two were indisposed. They seemed now, all of them, to

have caught the infection, for they all complained bitterly. I heard what they had to say most patiently, and told them again and again that I sympathised with them in their distress. After some farther conversation I bade them adieu, as I was to leave Paris in two days; and recommended to them, in the most earnest and impressive manner I could, moderation and forbearance as the best legacy I could leave them; and I entreated them rather to give up their seats in the assembly than to carry their anger home; for that with patience their cause would ultimately triumph. They replied, that I had prescribed to them a most difficult task, but that they would endeavour to follow my advice. There was, however, evidently a spirit of dissatisfaction in their countenances, which nothing but a redress of their grievances could subdue; and it appeared clear to me, that if the white colonists should persevere in their intrigues, and the National Assembly in delay, a fire might be lighted up in St. Domingo which could not easily be extinguished. This was all that ever passed between me and the deputies of colour at Paris, either in my conversation with them as individuals or as a collective body. I may add, that I had no particular intimacy with any of them—that I never paid a visit to any of them—in fact, that I never knew where any of them lodged.

I intend to continue my account as soon as I can get an opportunity. You will of course preserve this letter for Mr. Mackenzie; but you need not acknowledge the receipt of it.

I am, dear Sir, your's truly,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

No. 2.

Playford-Hall, August 15, 1828.

DEAR SIR,

I sent you on Wednesday last (for Mr. Mackenzie) an account of my knowledge of Ogé, as far as it went, during my residence in France. I now send you an account of my knowledge of him, as far as it goes, during his residence in England.

I left Paris, to the best of my recollection, about the latter end of December 1789. In about three or four months after this, say somewhere in April 1790, when I was in London, I received a letter from Ogé at Paris (*the first that had ever passed between us*), stating that he was coming to England for a week or two, and that he would then take an opportunity of calling upon me. I was then at lodgings in Frith-street, and he had contrived some how or other to find out my address. This intelligence *gave me great uneasiness*; for the errand of the deputies of colour to France was as odious to the slave-merchants and planters of England, as it was to the white colonists at Paris, and I trembled therefore at the thought of being seen in company with Ogé in London, lest *it should do a serious injury to our cause*. I communicated the news to Mr. Wilberforce, who thought exactly as I did upon the subject, and who declared that he would never see him, if he came, and forbad me therefore to bring him to his house. I began then to deliberate whether I ought not try to find out some reason for preventing his coming, and to write to him to that effect; but he gave me no time to do this: for one morning, about four days after the receipt of his letter, while I was at breakfast, and while I was considering what I should write to him, to induce him to put off his journey, he came into my room. I received him, I believe, with all the civility due to his situation; but I questioned him closely as to his motive for coming to England, when he informed me that his object was to go to the United States, where he had friends, and that there were more and better opportunities of getting thither from the ports of England than from those of France. After having breakfasted with me, he left me to go to his inn, and to inquire whether any vessels in the Thames were going to the American ports.

In about three days after this a letter came directed to him at my lodgings with the Paris post-mark upon it. I had not seen him during this time, and not knowing where his inn was,

I knew not where to send it. When he came the next time, he told me that he had been in search of a vessel from day to day, and that he thought he had found one. I then gave him his letter. He opened it immediately and read it, and appeared much affected by it. I asked him if he had received any bad news. He then gave me the letter to read. It was from one of his colleagues. It stated that "he had received letters from St. Domingo, and that not only no remittances had come, but that none were likely to come for some weeks, and that he (Ogé) had but just got out of Paris in time, for that his creditors were in his lodging the very day after his departure; and they were desperately incensed against him." It was clear to me, after having read this letter, what was Ogé's design in coming to England. He came in fact to England because he had neither money nor credit to convey him to Nantes or Havre, and from thence to an American port; and because he could no longer stay in Paris without getting into jail; and as a man on the point of drowning catches at a straw, so he thought there might possibly be a chance of surmounting his difficulties by throwing himself upon me in London, the only person he knew there, and that he preferred this measure, however degrading it might be, to the certainty of lingering for an unknown time in a French prison. As these were my sentiments after reading the letter, I communicated them to him frankly; when he confessed that he had never had any intention of coming to England at all, but that circumstances forced him; and he hoped that I would advance him a little money to enable him to get to the United States. He had then twenty louis d'ors left, and a small sum in addition would be sufficient. He would go even as a steerage passenger: he would submit to any thing to get clear of Europe. In answer to this I made him no promises, but asked him to dine with me the next day, when we would talk the matter over.

The moment he left me, I began to think most seriously of

his situation as well as my own ; and in a few minutes the case appeared to me to be so plain, that I was no longer at a loss how to act on the occasion. Considering that the longer he staid in London the more his pecuniary means would be exhausted, and that ultimately some one must come forward to help him, or he would get into an English jail, and that no person in England knew him but myself ; and considering again, that the longer he staid in London, the greater chance there was that his acquaintance with me might become known, by which the great cause then in my hands might be materially injured, I thought it a matter of common prudence (putting humanity out of the question) to say that I would accede to his request *provided matters could be arranged upon a frugal scale* ; and accordingly, when he dined with me the next day, I unbosomed myself to him in the most frank manner on the subject. I was pleased to find that he accommodated himself to my views ; for that he desired only to be enabled to set his foot on the shore of the United States.

In two or three days afterwards he called upon me again, and wished me to introduce him to Mr. Wilberforce. I told him that Mr. Wilberforce was too ill to see any stranger ; and this was really the case at that particular moment. He then informed me that he expected to sail in a week, and wished to know when it would be convenient to me to let him have the money, as the captain wished to be paid before he allowed him to come on board as a passenger : I said he might receive it in the course of three or four days at most, and appointed a meeting for that purpose.

He came at the appointed time and dined with me again. I then paid him the money : it was either twenty or thirty pounds—I think it was thirty pounds. When I told him that it was a gift and not a loan, he expressed himself in terms of the greatest gratitude. He said that his colleagues in Paris were unable to assist him ; that they were all in debt ; and that Monsieur Raymond was trying to borrow money upon his

estate in St. Domingo to supply himself and them also till remittances should arrive. He said he was glad that he had escaped from France. He hoped that his creditors there would not follow him, and that he should escape soon out of England. He should have no rest till he turned his back upon Europe. He seemed to me to be a much more humbled man than when I saw him in Paris. His language too was more moderate when I spoke of the white proprietors there; but it was evident that he had not forgotten old grievances: for on all these occasions he was not only agitated, but his eyes bespoke a vindictive spirit. At length he left me, promising that he would call again to take his leave; but I waited day after day, and he never came. Not knowing where he lodged, I knew not where to send to inquire about him. I was in this uncertain state, when I learnt by mere accident, from an agent for shipping in Wapping, that he had actually left London in a vessel, which had cleared out for the United States. Why he did not call to take his leave of me I could never unravel. I once thought that he was secretly displeased with me for not having introduced him to Mr. Wilberforce and the committee, and for not having done more for him in a pecuniary way; but I gave up this notion afterwards, and supposed that he had been called upon to go on board suddenly, or sooner than he expected, and that he had not had time to perform his promise.

You will be pleased to give this, my second letter, to Mr. Mackenzie when you see him.

I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

You need not acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

No. 3.

Playford Hall, August 17, 1828.

DEAR SIR,

I have already sent you an account (for the use of Mr. Mackenzie) of my knowledge of the unfortunate Ogé *during my re-*



*sidence in Paris*, and also of my knowledge of him during *his residence in London*. One thing only now remains, and that is *absolutely necessary* to be known by Mr. Mackenzie before he can form an *entire* judgment on the case before him, viz. whether I ever had any connexion, either by letter or message, with Ogé after his departure from this country, or whether I ever held any correspondence with any one in St. Domingo after this period, and with whom?

I have then to say that I never wrote any letter, or sent any message either to Ogé or to any of his colleagues or friends, after his departure from England. In the first place I knew not how to address either him or them. I knew not where they lived in St. Domingo. And secondly, there was no subject on which I felt the least inclination, or had any business to write to him. Nor did I ever receive any letter from him or any of his friends, colleagues, or adherents, after he had left London.

I will not say, however, that I never wrote a letter to St. Domingo, or that I never received one from that quarter. I was certainly in correspondence with the late Henry Christophe after he became king; but then this was *more than twenty years* after the death of the unfortunate Ogé, or *after the beginning of the revolution in that island*; and with respect to this correspondence, *I never sought it myself*. I should never have engaged in it if the king had not first written to me; and I can truly say that I was never more surprised than I was when I received a letter from him inviting me to such a correspondence. I may add also, that all my letters to him were written, according to the *best of my judgment*, for the *good of Haiti*, to promote its prosperity, its strength, its liberty, and its civilisation. With this view, one of my first objects was to try to prevail upon the king to unite in a sincere and lasting friendship with Petion his rival; but I did not succeed there. When I heard of an act of cruelty practised by his (Christophe's) governor upon an Irishman supposed to be a spy, I reprimanded him without

fear. I furnished certain masters for his schools. I advised him to take a certain number of the free blacks in the United States, and bring them into his dominions, to the amount of thirty or forty thousand, by way of giving him the appearance of greater strength in the eyes of the French government; and I stipulated for their personal and religious liberty, on the basis of what reason and experience had shown to be the wisest for those purposes. I found out for him also the terms which the French government would propose to him, if he wished to have his independence acknowledged in that quarter. *Upon these and many other subjects* I wrote to him *at his own request*; and though, like many others, I might have been mistaken in my judgment, I always counselled him for the best. *Setting aside then these letters*, either to the king or his ministers, *I never wrote or sent a message to any person whatever in St. Domingo in the course of my life.*

You will be so good as to hand this third letter to Mr. Mackenzie. The three letters together will probably enable him to form a decided judgment on the case. I am in doubt whether I ought not to address to him a fourth; but I shall take a little time to consider of it. Should I think it necessary, it will be the last.

I remain, dear Sir, your's truly,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

You need not acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

No. 4.

Playford-Hall, near Ipswich, August 20, 1828.

DEAR SIR,

It was my intention merely to have handed, through you, to Mr. Mackenzie, certain facts connected with my acquaintance with Ogé, and to have allowed him to judge for himself on the subject; but after some consideration, I have thought it right to come forward myself, and to say YES or NO to the different charges brought against me by certain French writers

relative to that unfortunate individual. These charges amount to FOUR. 1. That Ogé was introduced to me in London by letters from the Amis de Noirs at Paris. 2. That his object in London was to confer with me on a plan for exciting an insurrection or revolution in St. Domingo. 3. That I encouraged or assisted him in this his plan or design: and 4. That I *was the means* of sending him from England to his own country to execute it. I will reply to these charges in their order.

1. I *deny* that Ogé was introduced to me in London by the *Amis des Noirs* at Paris. He *wrote* to me in London *himself*, and followed his own letter here. Ogé did *not stand in need* of any such introduction; for he had been *acquainted* with me *many months before*. He and his colleagues *had visited me* four or five times *at my own lodgings*, and we had also met and talked in the streets. I will venture to say that Ogé *knew me better* than most of *the Paris committee did*; for though I was six months in Paris, I never attended that committee *more than three times*.

2. That Ogé came to me for the purpose mentioned *is equally false*. He came to me, *not to promote any revolutionary plan*, but because he could *stay no longer* in Paris *without getting into a jail*, and because he *could not get home* apparently by any other means than mine.

3. That I promoted or encouraged his plans for the wicked purpose above-mentioned, *is equally false*; for I *never knew*, either *from himself or any other person*, that he *ever entertained any such plan or design*. That Ogé was, if I may so say, *desperately irritated* against the white colonists in Paris on account of their wicked intrigues and denunciations against himself and his colleagues, and that he once broke out into the *most intemperate and furious language, threatening vengeance* both against them and the National Assembly, I have shown you in my first letter; but it will have appeared by the same letter that I came forward immediately as a *peace-maker on that occasion*; by which he would see that I set my face against all

violent measures. Indeed, I considered this threatening only as the effusion of a highly exasperated mind at the moment. When he was in London, he was apparently more humbled, more softened, more composed; and yet he was very irritable if old grievances came across his mind. But *neither in Paris nor in London did he ever give me a hint that he had any plan in contemplation either for promoting insurrections or bringing about a revolution in St. Domingo.* I myself therefore stand entirely clear of the charge of ever having known of any scheme of this nature; and if I myself, who knew Ogé, cannot be implicated in it, how can the London committee be supposed to have had a hand in it, *who never saw him?* I may add here, that if the Amis des Noirs of Paris had ever had the rashness to propose to the London committee for the abolition of the slave trade, any revolutionary measure for St. Domingo, it is my belief not only that the latter *would have instantly broken off all connexion with the former,* but that they *would have waited upon one of his Majesty's secretaries of state to have informed him of the proposal.* The London committee at this time consisted, fifteen out of twenty, of Quakers, and their religion would forbid them to be concerned in military operations in any shape.

4. This charge is the only one that is true. I plead guilty to it. I believe that *without my means Ogé could not have left England as he did;* but when I sent him away, I did not send him away to promote an insurrection in St. Domingo, but to *get rid of a greater pecuniary burthen upon myself,* and to get rid of a person *whose known acquaintance with me might have been injurious to our cause.*

I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

The remainder of this letter is here omitted, because it did not refer to the point at issue; but as holding back any portion of the correspondence might be misunderstood, it will be found at the end of the Appendix.—See note (LL).

## NOTE (S).

## CONSTITUTION

De la Colonie Française de ST. DOMINGUE, 1801.

Discours Préliminaire de la Constitution.

La colonie de Saint-Domingue existait depuis plusieurs années sans lois positives. Long-temps gouvernée par des hommes ambitieux, son anéantissement était inévitable, sans le génie actif et sage du Général en chef Toussaint Louverture, qui, par les combinaisons les plus justes, les plans les mieux réfléchis et les actions les plus énergiques, a su la délivrer presque en même temps de ses ennemis extérieurs et intérieurs, étouffer successivement tous les germes de discorde ; du sein de l'anarchie, préparer sa restauration ; faire succéder l'abondance à la misère, l'amour du travail et de la paix, à la guerre civile et au vagabondage, la sécurité à la terreur, et enfin la soumettre tout entière à l'empire Français.

La révolution avait renversé, avec violence, tout ce qui constituait le régime par lequel l'île de Saint-Domingue était anciennement administrée.

Les différentes assemblées législatives de France y avaient substitué, à diverses époques, des lois nouvelles ; mais l'incohérence de ces lois aussitôt rapportées que rendues, leurs vices ou leur insuffisance reconnus par ceux-là même qui en avaient été les auteurs, la manière dont elles étaient exécutées par des factieux et des hommes de parti, habiles à les interpréter suivant leurs intérêts, contribuaient plutôt à propager le désordre qu'à le comprimer.

Et la conséquence naturelle de cet ordre de choses avait été de faire regarder des lois qui n'auraient dû être reçues qu'avec un sentiment de respect, comme des objets d'alarme, ou lorsqu'elles étaient impuissantes, comme des objets de mépris.

Les hommes sages qui ont coopéré à la constitution Française de l'an huit, ont, sans doute, senti la nécessité d'adopter un nouveau système pour des colonies éloignées, et de consulter

dans la création des lois qui doivent les régir, les mœurs, les usages, les habitudes, les besoins des Français qui les habitent, même les circonstances dans lesquelles elles se trouvent.

Serait-il facile en effet de peser toutes ces considérations, d'après des rapports souvent infidèles, d'apprécier à une aussi grande distance les changemens opérés dans l'esprit d'un peuple, de connaître ses maux, et d'y porter des remèdes à propos et efficaces, surtout pendant la guerre?

L'Article 91 de la Constitution Française aurait pu seul autoriser les habitans de la colonie de Saint-Domingue à présenter au gouvernement Français les lois qui doivent les régir, si l'expérience du passé ne leur en avait fait un devoir impérieux.

Et quel moment plus propre à choisir pour cet important ouvrage que celui où le cahos débrouillé, l'ancien édifice déblayé de ses ruines, les préjugés guéris et les passions calmées, semblaient avoir marqué comme l'instant propice où il fallait en poser les fondemens!

Il est des circonstances qui ne se présentent qu'une seule fois pendant une longue série de siècles pour fixer la destinée des peuples ; si on les laisse échapper, elles ne se retrouvent plus.

A ces causes fondamentales qui faisaient sentir la nécessité d'une constitution pour l'île de Saint-Domingue, combinée d'après les intérêts de ses habitans, intimement liés à ceux de la métropole, se joignaient des motifs également pressans.

Les justes réclamations de départemens de la colonie pour rapprocher les tribunaux des justiciables ;

La nécessité d'introduire de nouveaux cultivateurs pour l'accroissement des cultures, la revivification du commerce et le rétablissement des manufactures ;

L'utilité de cimenter l'union de la ci-devant partie Espagnole avec l'ancienne partie Française ;

L'impossibilité pour la métropole de secourir et d'alimenter cette immense colonie pendant la guerre avec les puissances maritimes ;



Le besoin d'établir un régime simple et uniforme dans l'administration des finances de la colonie, et d'en réformer les abus ;

L'obligation de tranquilliser les propriétaires absens sur leurs propriétés ;

Et enfin l'importance de consolider et de rendre stable la paix intérieure, d'augmenter la prospérité dont commence à jouir la colonie, après les orages qui l'ont agitée ; de faire connaître à chacun ses droits et ses devoirs, et d'éteindre toutes les méfiances, en présentant un code de lois auquel viendront se lier toutes les affections, se réunir tous les intérêts :

Tels ont été les motifs qui ont décidé le Général en chef à convoquer une assemblée législative, chargée de proposer au gouvernement Français la constitution la plus convenable à la colonie de Saint-Domingue : ainsi cet ouvrage sera encore un de ses bienfaits.

Le peu de membres dont il a formé cette assemblée, annonce qu'il a voulu éloigner de ses discussions les passions et le tumulte ; mais en même temps il a voulu qu'elle fût environnée des lumières et des réflexions de tous les hommes instruits, afin qu'un ouvrage d'un aussi grand intérêt fût, pour ainsi dire, celui de la colonie entière.

Si l'Assemblée centrale n'a pas complètement rempli les vœux de ses commettans, si elle n'a pas atteint le but que se proposait le Général en chef, elle aura fait au moins ce que les circonstances lui permettaient ; elle n'a pu proposer à la fois tous les changemens qu'on pouvait désirer. La colonie ne peut parvenir à sa plus grande prospérité, qu'avec le temps et par degrés. Le bien, pour être durable, ne peut s'opérer que lentement ; il faut à cet égard imiter la nature, qui ne fait rien avec précipitation, mais qui mûrit peu à peu ses productions bienfaisantes.

Heureuse si cette première tentative peut contribuer à améliorer le sort de ses concitoyens et lui mériter leur estime et leur indulgence, ainsi que des témoignages de satisfaction de la

France, quand bien même elle n'aurait pas atteint une certaine perfection.

Tous les Articles de la Constitution ont été discutés et arrêtés sans passion, sans préjugé, sans partialité, et spécialement le mode de gouvernement adopté comme le seul propre dans les circonstances, à conserver à la colonie sa tranquillité et à la ramener à son ancienne splendeur. D'ailleurs tous les deux ans, les assemblées centrales suivantes pourront opérer les changemens que le temps et l'expérience rendront nécessaires.

L'Assemblée centrale n'a pas la vanité de croire qu'elle a proposé la meilleure constitution possible ; mais ce qu'elle peut assurer à ses concitoyens, c'est que tous les membres qui la composent ont constamment eu l'ardent désir du bien, l'intention d'affermir la tranquillité actuelle de la colonie, de rendre sa prospérité durable, de l'augmenter, et de prouver leur attachement au gouvernement Français.

The Constitution which immediately follows this address, is signed by BORGELLA, président ; COLLET, RAIMOND, GASTRON NOGERE'E, LACOUR, ROXAS, MUGNOZ, MANCEBO, et VIART, secrétaire.

It has been denied that Toussaint had European advisers. On such a point Baron Vastey's evidence may be depended on. In his "Essai sur les Causes de la Révolution, &c. &c." he distinctly ascribes the misfortunes of both the local chiefs to the counsels of Europeans, and he positively says, "L'Abbé Bosquet rédigeait les proclamations du Général Rigaud, un nommé Salenave celles du Général Toussaint."—p. 16.

Besides, Borgella and other Frenchmen formed a majority of the first Constituent Assembly, while Pascal was the secretary, and others were the heads of departments. The fact is never doubted in Haiti.

## NOTE (T).

LIBERTÉ',

OU LA MORT.

## ACTE D'INDÉPENDANCE.

## ARMÉE INDIGÈNE.

Aujourd'hui premier Janvier, mil huit cent quatre, le Général en Chef de l'Armée Indigène, accompagné des Généraux, Chefs de l'armée, convoqués à l'effet de prendre les mesures qui doivent tendre au bonheur du pays :

Après avoir fait connaître aux Généraux assemblés ses véritables intérêts, d'assurer à jamais aux Indigènes d'Hayti, un Gouvernement stable, objet de sa plus vive sollicitude ; ce qu'il a fait par un Discours qui tend à faire connaître aux Puissances Etrangères, la résolution de rendre le pays indépendant, et de jouir d'une liberté consacrée par le sang du Peuple de cette Ile : et après avoir recueilli les avis, a demandé que chacun des Généraux assemblés prononçât le serment de renoncer à jamais à la France, de mourir plutôt que de vivre sous sa domination ; et de combattre jusqu'au dernier soupir pour l'Indépendance.

Les Généraux, pénétrés de ces principes sacrés, après avoir donné d'une voix unanime leur adhésion au projet bien manifesté d'Indépendance, ont tous juré A LA POSTERITE', A L'UNIVERS ENTIER, DE RENONCER A JAMAIS A LA FRANCE, ET DE MOURIR PLUTÔT QUE DE VIVRE SOUS SA DOMINATION.

Fait aux Gonaïves, ce 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1804, et le 1<sup>er</sup> jour de l'Indépendance d'Hayti.

(Signé) DESSALINES, Général en Chef ; CHRISTOPHE, PETION, CLERVAUX, GEFFRARD, VERNET, GABART, Généraux de Division ; P. ROMAIN, E. GERIN, F. CAPOIX, DAUT, J. L. FRANÇOIS, FEROU, CANGE, L. BAZELAIS, MAGLOIRE-AMBROISE, J. J. HERNE, TOUSSAINT-BRAVE, YAYOU, Généraux de Brigade ; BONNET, F. PAPALIER, MORRELLY, CHE-

VALIER, MARION, Adjutans-Généraux ; MAGNY, ROUX, Chefs de Brigade ; CHARERON, B. LORET, QUENE, MAKAJOUX, DUPUI, CARBONNE, DIAQUI aîné, RAPHAEL, MALET, DERENONCOURT, Officiers de l'Armée ; et BOISROND-TONNERRE, Secrétaire.

NOTE (U).

## LE GÉNÉRAL EN CHEF,

AU PEUPLE D'HAÏTI.

CITOYENS,

Ce n'est pas assez d'avoir expulsé de votre pays les barbares qui l'ont ensanglanté depuis deux siècles ; ce n'est pas assez d'avoir mis un frein aux factions toujours renaissantes qui se jouaient tour-à-tour du fantôme de liberté que la France exposait à vos yeux : il faut, par un dernier acte d'autorité nationale, assurer à jamais l'empire de la liberté dans le pays qui nous a vu naître ; il faut ravir au Gouvernement inhumain qui tient depuis long-tems nos esprits dans la torpeur la plus humiliante, tout espoir de nous réasservir ; il faut enfin vivre indépendant ou mourir

Indépendance, ou la mort . . . . Que ces mots sacrés nous rallient, et qu'ils soient le signal des combats et de notre réunion.

Citoyens, mes compatriotes, j'ai rassemblé dans ce jour solennel ces militaires courageux, qui, à la veille de recueillir les derniers soupirs de la liberté, ont prodigué leur sang pour la sauver : ces Généraux qui ont guidé vos efforts contre la tyrannie, n'ont point encore assez fait pour votre bonheur . . . . Le nom Français lugubre encore nos contrées.

Tout y retrace le souvenir des cruautés de ce peuple barbare ; nos lois, nos mœurs, nos villes, tout encore porte l'empreinte française : que dis-je ? il existe des Français dans notre Ile, et vous vous croyez libres et indépendans de cette République, qui a combattu toutes les Nations, il est vrai, mais qui n'a jamais vaincu celles qui ont voulu être libres.

Eh quoi ! Victimes pendant quatorze ans de notre crédulité et de notre indulgence ; vaincus, non par des armées françaises, mais par la pipeuse éloquence des proclamations de leurs agens ; quand nous lasserons-nous de respirer le même air qu'eux ? Qu'avons-nous de commun avec ce peuple bourreau ? Sa cruauté comparée à notre patiente modération, sa couleur à la nôtre, l'étendue des mers qui nous séparent, notre climat vengeur nous disent assez qu'ils ne sont pas nos frères, qu'ils ne le deviendront jamais, et que s'ils trouvent un asile parmi nous, ils seront encore les machinateurs de nos troubles et de nos divisions.

Citoyens Indigènes, Hommes, Femmes, Filles, et Enfants, portez vos regards sur toutes les parties de cette Ile ; cherchez-y, vous vos Epouses, vous vos Maris, vous vos Frères, vous vos Sœurs ; que dis-je ? cherchez-y vos Enfants, vos Enfants à la mamelle ! Que sont-ils devenus ?—je frémis de le dire—la proie de ces vautours. Au lieu de ces victimes intéressantes, votre œil consterné n'aperçoit que leurs assassins ; que les tigres dégoûtant encore de leur sang, et dont l'affreuse présence vous reproche votre insensibilité et votre coupable lenteur à les venger. Qu'attendez-vous pour apaiser leurs mânes ; songez que vous avez voulu que vos restes reposassent auprès de ceux de vos Pères, quand vous avez chassé la tyrannie ; descendrez-vous dans leurs tombes sans les avoir vengés ? non, leurs ossements repousseraient les vôtres.

Et vous, Hommes précieux, Généraux intrépides, qui insensibles à vos propres malheurs avez ressuscité la Liberté en lui prodiguant tout votre sang ; sachez que vous n'avez rien fait, si vous ne donnez aux Nations un exemple terrible, mais juste, de la vengeance que doit exercer un peuple fier d'avoir recouvré sa liberté et jaloux de la maintenir : effrayons tous ceux qui oseraient tenter de nous la ravir encore : commençons par les Français.—Qu'ils frémissent en abordant nos côtes, sinon par le souvenir des cruautés qu'ils y ont exercées, au moins par la

résolution terrible que nous allons prendre de dévouer à la mort quiconque, né français, souillerait de son pied sacrilège le territoire de la Liberté.

Nous avons osé être libres, osons l'être par nous-mêmes et pour nous-mêmes ; imitons l'enfant qui grandit : son propre poids brise la lisière qui lui devient inutile et l'entrave dans sa marche. Quel peuple a combattu pour nous ! Quel peuple voudrait recueillir les fruits de nos travaux ? Et quelle déshonorante absurdité que de vaincre pour être esclaves. Esclaves ! — laissons aux Français cette épithète qualificative ; ils ont vaincu pour cesser d'être libres.

Marchons sur d'autres traces, imitons ces peuples qui, portant leurs sollicitudes jusques sur l'avenir et appréhendant de laisser à la postérité l'exemple de la lâcheté, ont préféré être exterminés que rayés du nombre des peuples libres.

Gardons-nous cependant que l'esprit de prosélytisme ne détruise notre ouvrage ; laissons en paix respirer nos voisins ; qu'ils vivent paisiblement sous l'égide des lois qu'ils se sont faites, et n'allons pas, boute-feux révolutionnaires, nous ériger en Législateurs des Antilles, faire consister notre gloire à troubler le repos des Iles qui nous avoisinent ; elles n'ont point, comme celle que nous habitons, été arrosées du sang innocent de leurs habitans ; elles n'ont point de vengeance à exercer contre l'autorité qui les protège.

Heureuses de n'avoir jamais connu les fléaux qui nous ont détruit, elles ne peuvent que faire des vœux pour notre prospérité.

Paix à nos voisins, mais anathème au nom français, haine éternelle à la France : voilà notre cri.

Indigènes d'Haiti ! Mon heureuse destinée me réservait à être un jour la sentinelle qui dût veiller à la garde de l'idole à laquelle vous sacrifiez ; j'ai veillé, combattu, quelquefois seul, et si j'ai été assez heureux que de remettre en vos mains le dépôt sacré que vous m'avez confié, songez que c'est à vous mainte-



nant à le conserver. En combattant pour votre liberté, j'ai travaillé à mon propre bonheur. Avant de la consolider par des lois qui assurent votre libre individualité, vos Chefs, que j'assemble ici, et moi-même, nous vous devons la dernière preuve de notre dévouement.

Généraux, et vous Chefs, réunis ici près de moi pour le bonheur de notre pays, le jour est arrivé, ce jour qui doit éterniser notre gloire, notre Indépendance.

S'il pouvait exister parmi nous un cœur tiède, qu'il s'éloigne et tremble de prononcer le serment qui doit nous unir.

“ Jurons à l'Univers entier, à la postérité, à nous-mêmes, de renoncer à jamais à la France et de mourir plutôt que de vivre sous sa domination. De combattre jusqu'au dernier soupir pour l'Indépendance de notre Pays.”

Et toi, peuple trop long-tems infortuné, témoin du serment que nous prononçons, souviens-toi que c'est sur ta constance et ton courage que j'ai compté quand je me suis lancé dans la carrière de la liberté pour y combattre le despotisme et la tyrannie, contre lesquels tu luttais depuis 14 ans ; rappelle-toi que j'ai tout sacrifié pour voler à ta défense—parens, enfans, fortune,—et que maintenant je ne suis riche que de ta liberté ; que mon nom est devenu en horreur à tous les peuples qui veulent l'esclavage, et que les despotes et les tyrans ne le prononcent qu'avec mépris le jour qui m'a vu naître ; et si jamais tu refusais ou recevais en murmurant les Lois que le génie qui veille à tes destins me dictera pour ton bonheur, tu mériterais le sort des peuples ingrats.

Mais loin de moi cette affreuse idée : tu seras le soutien de la liberté que tu chéris, l'appui du Chef qui te commande.

Prête donc entre ses mains le serment de vivre libre et indépendant, et de préférer la mort à tout ce qui tendrait à te remettre sous le joug. Jure enfin de poursuivre à jamais les traîtres et les ennemis de ton Indépendance.

Fait au Quartier-Général des Gonaïves, le Premier Janvier mil-huit-cent-quatre, l'an Premier de l'Indépendance.

(Signé) J. J. DESSALINES.

(NOTE V.)—The length of this document precludes its insertion ; and those who wish to be better informed respecting it may refer to the revised Constitution of 1816, printed by the order of the House of Commons. The most striking deviations from the original are noted in pp. 91, 92, and 93.

(NOTE W).

# LOI CONSTITUTIONNELLE DU CONSEIL D'ETAT,

Qui établit la Royauté à Haiti.

Le Conseil d'Etat extraordinairement assemblé, à l'effet de délibérer sur les changemens qu'il est nécessaire de faire à la constitution de l'état d'Haiti, et sur le meilleur ordre de gouvernement qui lui convient.

Considérant que, lorsque la constitution du 17 Février 1807, an 4<sup>eme</sup>, fut promulguée, l'état se trouvait, à proprement parler, sans pacte social, et les orages de la guerre civile grondaient avec une telle force, qu'ils ne permettaient pas aux mandataires du peuple de fixer d'une manière irrévocable le seul mode de gouvernement qui nous convînt réellement ;

Que cette constitution, cependant, tout informe qu'elle paraît l'être, et dont ces mêmes mandataires ne se dissimulaient pas l'imperfection, convenait alors aux crises dans lesquelles elle avait naissance, et aux tempêtes qui environnaient son berceau ;

Que le petit nombre de principes sublimes qu'elle renferme, suffisait néanmoins au bonheur du peuple, dont elle fixait tous les droits dans ces temps déplorables :

Considérant qu'aujourd'hui, grâce au génie du suprême magistrat qui tient les rênes de l'état, dont les hautes conceptions et la brillante valeur ont su ramener l'ordre, le bonheur, et la prospérité ;

L'état florissant de la culture, du commerce et de la navigation, le rétablissement des mœurs, de la morale et de la religion, la haute discipline établie dans l'armée et la flotte, semblent promettre une éternelle durée à l'état ;

Qu'il convient aujourd'hui plus que jamais d'établir un ordre de choses stable, un mode de gouvernement qui doit à jamais régir le pays qui nous a vu naître :

Considérant qu'il est instant de revêtir l'autorité souveraine d'une qualification auguste, grande, qui rende l'idée de la majesté du pouvoir ;

Que l'érection d'un trône héréditaire est la conséquence nécessaire de cette puissante considération.

Que l'hérédité du pouvoir aux seuls enfans mâles et légitimes (à l'exclusion perpétuelle des femmes), dans une famille illustre, constamment dévouée à la gloire et au bonheur de la patrie, qui lui doit son existence politique, est autant un devoir qu'une marque éclatante de la reconnaissance nationale ;

Que la nation qui fait en ce moment, par nos organes, l'usage de sa volonté et de sa souveraineté, en les confiant à celui qui l'a relevée de l'abîme et des précipices où ses plus acharnés ennemis voulaient l'anéantir, à celui qui la gouverne maintenant avec tant de gloire, que cette nation n'a pas à craindre pour sa liberté, son indépendance, et son bonheur ;

Qu'il convient aussi d'établir des grandes dignités, autant pour relever la splendeur du trône, que pour récompenser de signalés services rendus à la patrie, par des officiers qui se dévouent pour le bonheur, la gloire et la prospérité de l'état ;

Le Conseil d'Etat rend en conséquence la Loi organique suivante :

### TITRE PREMIER.

#### De la première Autorité.

ART. 1. Le président Henry Christophe est déclaré Roi d'HAÏTI sous le nom d'HENRY.

Ce titre, ses prérogatifs et immunités seront héréditaires dans

sa famille, dans les descendans mâles et légitimes en ligne directe, par droit d'aînesse, à l'exclusion des femmes.

2. Tous les actes du royaume seront au nom du roi, promulgués et publiés sous le sceau royal.

3. A défaut d'enfans mâles en ligne directe, l'hérédité passera dans la famille du prince le plus proche parent du roi, ou le plus ancien en dignité.

4. Cependant il sera loisible au roi d'adopter les enfans de tel prince du royaume qu'il jugera à propos, à défaut d'héritier.

5. S'il lui survient, après l'adoption, des enfans mâles, leurs droits d'hérédité prévaudront sur les enfans adoptifs.

6. Au décès du roi et jusqu'à ce que son successeur soit reconnu, les affaires du royaume seront gouvernées par les ministres et le conseil du roi, qui se formeront ex conseil-général, et qui délibéreront à la majorité des voix. Le secrétaire d'état tient le registre des délibérations.

## TITRE II.

### De la Famille Royale.

7. L'épouse du roi est déclaré Reine d'Haiti.

8. Les membres de la famille royale porteront le titre de Princes et Princesses. On les qualifie d'Altesses Royales. L'héritier présomptif est dénommé Prince Royal.

9. Ces princes sont membres du conseil d'état, sitôt qu'ils ont atteint leur majorité.

10. Les princes et princesses royales ne peuvent se marier sans l'autorisation du roi.

11. Le roi fait lui-même l'organisation de son palais d'une manière conforme à la dignité de la couronne.

12. Il sera établi, d'après les ordres du roi, des palais et châteaux dans les lieux du royaume qu'il jugera à propos de désigner.

## TITRE III.

## De la Régence.

13. Le roi est mineur jusqu'à l'âge de 15 ans accomplis ; pendant sa minorité, il sera nommé un régent du royaume.

14. Le régent sera âgé au moins de 25 ans accomplis, et sera choisi parmi les princes les plus proches parens du roi (à l'exclusion des femmes), et, à leur défaut, parmi les grands dignitaires du royaume.

15. A défaut de désignation de régent de la part du roi, le grand conseil en désignera un de la manière qui est prescrit dans l'article précédent.

16. Le régent exerce, jusqu'à la majorité du roi, toutes les attributions de la dignité royale.

17. Le régent ne peut conclure aucun traité de paix, d'alliance, ou de commerce, ni faire aucune déclaration de guerre, qu'après mûre délibération et de l'avis du grand conseil ; l'opinion sera émise à la majorité des voix, et en cas d'égalité de suffrages, celle qui ce trouvera conforme à l'avis du régent, emportera la balance.

18. Le régent ne peut nommer ni aux grandes dignités du royaume, ni aux places d'officiers généraux de l'armée de terre et de mer.

19. Tous les actes de la régence sont au nom du roi mineur.

20. La garde du roi mineur est confiée à sa mère, et, à son défaut, au prince désigné par le roi défunt.

Ne peuvent être élus pour la garde du roi mineur, ni le régent ni ses descendans.

## TITRE IV.

## Du Grand-Conseil et du Conseil Privé.

21. Le grand-conseil est composé des princes du sang, des princes, ducs et comtes nommés, et au choix de Sa Majesté, qui en fixe lui-même le nombre.

22. Le conseil est présidé par le roi ; et lorsqu'il ne les pré-

side pas lui-même, il désigne un des grands du royaume pour remplir cette fonction.

23. Le conseil privé est choisi par le roi parmi les grands dignitaires du royaume.

#### TITRE V.

##### Des Grands Officiers du Royaume.

24. Les grands officiers du royaume sont les grands maréchaux d'Haiti ; ils sont choisis parmi les généraux le tous les grades, selon leur mérite.

25. Leur nombre n'est point fixé : le roi le détermine à chaque promotion.

26. Les places des grands officiers du royaume sont inamovibles.

27. Lorsque par un ordre du roi, ou pour cause d'invalidité, un des grands officiers du royaume viendrait à cesser ses fonctions, il conservera ses titres, son rang, et la moitié de son traitement.

#### TITRE VI.

##### Des Ministres.

28. Il y aura dans le royaume quatre ministres, au choix et à la nomination du roi.

Le ministre de la guerre et de la marine.

Le ministre des finances et de l'intérieur.

Le ministre des affaires étrangères.

Et celui de la justice.

29. Les ministres sont membres du conseil, et ont voix délibérative.

30. Les ministres rendent compte directement à Sa Majesté, et prennent ses ordres.

#### TITRE VII.

##### Des Serments.

31. A son avènement ou à sa majorité, le roi prête serment sur l'évangile, en présence des grandes autorités du royaume.



32. Le régent, avant de commencer l'exercice de ses fonctions, prête aussi serment, accompagné des mêmes autorités.

33. Les titulaires des grandes charges, les grands officiers, les ministres et le secrétaire d'état prêtent aussi serment de fidélité entre les mains du roi.

## TITRE VIII en Dernier.

### De la Promulgation.

34. La promulgation de tous les actes du royaume est ainsi conçue :

N. par la grâce de Dieu et la Loi constitutionnelle de l'état, roi d'Haiti, à tous présens et à venir, Salut.

Ces actes se terminent ainsi qu'il suit :

Mandons et ordonnons que les présentes, revêtues de notre sceau, soient adressées à toutes les cours, tribunaux, et autorités administratives, pour qu'ils les transcrivent dans leurs registres, les observent et les fassent observer dans tout le royaume ; et le ministre de la justice est chargé de la promulgation.

33. Les expéditions exécutoires des jugemens des cours de justice et des tribunaux, sont rédigées ainsi qu'il suit :

N. par la grâce de Dieu et la Loi constitutionnelle de l'état, roi d'Haiti, à tous présens et à venir, Salut.

Suit la copie de l'arrêt ou jugement.

Mandons et ordonnons à tous huissiers sur ce requis, de mettre ledit jugement à exécution ; à nos procureurs près les tribunaux d'y tenir la main ; à tous commandans et officiers de la force publique de prêter main-forte lorsqu'ils en seront légalement requis.

En foi de quoi le présent jugement a été signé par le président de la cour et le greffier.

Fait par le Conseil d'Etat d'Haiti.

Au Cap-Henry, le 28 Mars 1811, an huitième de l'indépendance.

(Signé) Paul Romain, doyen ; André Vernet, Toussaint

Brave, Jean-Philippe Daux, Martial Bessé, Jean-Pierre Richard, Jean Fleury, Jean-Baptiste Juge, Etienne Magny, secrétaire.

Nous, préfet apostolique et officiers généraux de terre et de mer, administrateurs des finances et officiers de justice, sous-signés, tant en notre nom personnel qu'en celui de l'armée et du peuple, dont nous sommes ici les organes, nous joignons de cœur et d'esprit au Conseil d'Etat, pour la proclamation de Sa Majesté, HENRY CHRISTOPHE, Roi d'Haiti, notre vœu et celui du peuple et de l'armée étant tel depuis long-temps.

C. Brelle, préfet apostolique ; N. Joachim, Rouanez, lieutenans-généraux ; Pierre Toussaint, Raphaël, Louis Achille, Charles Charlot, Cottureau, Jasmin, Prevost, Dupont, Charles Pierre, Guerrier, Simon, Placide Lebrun, maréchaux de camp ; Bastien Jean-Baptiste, Pierre Saint-Jean, contre-amiraux ; Almansor fils, Henry Proix, Chevalier, Papalier, Raimond, Sicard, Ferrier, Dossou, Caze, brigadiers des armées ; Bastien Fabien, Cadet Antoine, Bernardine Sprew, chefs de division de la marine ; Stanislas Latortue, Joseph Latortue, intendans ; Delon, contrôleur ; Jean-Baptiste Petit, trésorier ; P. A. Charrier, directeur des domaines ; L. Raphaël, directeur des douanes ; Boyer, garde-magasin central ; Juste Hugonin, commissaire général du gouvernement près les tribunaux ; Isaac, juge de paix ; Lagroue, Chanlatte, notaires ; Dupuy, interprète du gouvernement.

Le 6 Avril fut le jour choisi pour la publication de la Constitution. Le conseil d'état en grande tenue, le commissaire général du gouvernement portant l'original de la Loi constitutionnelle, le gouverneur de la capitale, les officiers de l'état-major et ceux des régimens en garnisons dans la capitale, les officiers d'administration, les membres des tribunaux, les défenseurs, les principaux négocians Haitiens, comme étrangers, et une foule de citoyens respectables de tous les états et de toute condition, tous mêlés et confondus, animés par la gaieté

la plus vive qui se peignait dans leurs regards, se sont transportés, au son d'une musique guerrière, dans toutes les places et carrefours, et ont donné lecture au peuple de l'Adresse du Conseil d'Etat, ainsi conçue :

## NOTE (X).

ARRETÉ qui réduit à cinq pour cent le droit d'Importation sur les Marchandises de Manufacture Anglaise, le 15 Octobre 1814.

ALEXANDRE PETION, Président d'Haïti :—Considérant que le commerce de la Grande Bretagne a été très avantageux à la République, et même l'a aidée dans les circonstances les plus critiques où elle s'est trouvée, et désirant l'encourager de plus en plus, a arrêté, et arrête, se qui suit.

Article 1.—A compter du 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1815, les marchandises manufacturées dans les pays sous la domination de S. M. Britannique, ne seront assujéties qu'à un droit de cinq pour cent sur le tarif du [*no date given*], à leur entrée dans le pays.

Art. 2.—Toutes les marchandises, autres que celles ci-dessus, continueront, comme par le passé, à payer le droit d'importation, à raison de 10 pour cent sur le même tarif sus-dit.

Le présent arrêté sera imprimé, publié, et expédié aux administrateurs et directeurs des douanes, enregistré par-tout où besoin sera, et exécuté à la diligence de l'administrateur-général des finances.

Donné au Port-au-Prince, le 15 Octobre 1814, an 11 de l'Indépendance.

(Signé)

PETION.

Par le Président :—Le Chef d'Escadron et Secrétaire,

(Signé)

B. INGINAC.

## NOTE (Y).

RAPPORT fait à l'Assemblée Constituante par son Comité de Constitution, dans sa Séance du 27 Décembre 1806.

Pour rendre une révolution utile, il faut, après s'être fait justice d'un tyran, frapper encore sur la tyrannie et lui ôter tous moyens de se reproduire. Tel a été le vœu ainsi que l'objet du peuple en vous nommant pour lui donner une constitution. Chargés par vous, Citoyens, de recueillir les principes et les institutions les plus propres à fonder et à assurer la liberté et le bonheur de nos concitoyens, nous venons vous présenter le résultat de notre travail.

C'est une vérité incontestable, que le meilleur système de gouvernement est celui qui, étant le mieux adapté aux caractères et aux mœurs du peuple pour qui il est fait, doit lui procurer la plus grande somme de bonheur ; mais il est également évident et certain, qu'il est des principes communs à toute bonne constitution : le plus essentiel de ces principes est la séparation des pouvoirs, puisque leur concentration dans les mêmes mains est ce qui constitue et définit le despotisme.

Nous vous proposons donc, Citoyens, d'établir un sénat, dont les membres seront élus, pour cette fois, par l'Assemblée Constituante, et seront pris à l'avenir parmi les fonctionnaires publics que le peuple aura désignés. Ainsi le sénat sera composé de militaires qui se seront signalés par des services rendus à la patrie, et de citoyens qui, par leurs talens et leurs vertus, auront mérité la confiance publique.

Voyez quels avantages doivent résulter de cette institution : nos lois ne seront plus l'expression du caprice et de la volonté d'un individu toujours porté, par ses passions, à séparer son intérêt particulier de l'intérêt général. Elles seront l'ouvrage d'hommes intègres et éclairés ; elles seront soumises à un examen sévère et à une discussion publique. Ceux qui les auront dictées comme sénateurs, seront forcés d'y obéir comme ci-

toyens. Le peuple n'aura plus à craindre que l'impôt pèse sur lui au-delà de ce qu'exigent les besoins de l'état ; parce qu'il aura dans ses représentans, des défenseurs d'autant plus intéressés à le garantir à cet égard, que le poids porterait sur eux et leur famille.

C'est par la séparation des pouvoirs, Citoyens, que les Américains sont devenus nombreux et florissans dans une progression tellement rapide, que les annales d'aucun peuple n'offrent un pareil exemple.

La séparation des pouvoirs a jeté sur l'Angleterre un éclat que n'ont pu ternir les défauts de son gouvernement.

Nous avons cru devoir vous proposer de composer le sénat de vingt-quatre membres. Ce corps ne doit pas être trop nombreux, l'expression des affaires en souffrirait ; il doit l'être suffisamment pour que les lois se trouvent conformes, autant que possible, au désir et à la volonté du peuple.

La nomination aux emplois et aux fonctions de l'état, que nous avons attribuée au sénat, sera toujours un des articles les plus essentiels dans toute Constitution. C'est vouloir pervertir l'esprit public ; c'est vouloir préparer l'esclavage de ses concitoyens, que de reconnaître au Pouvoir Exécutif cette importante attribution. Les fonctionnaires publics ne doivent point se considérer comme les créatures d'un individu : tout doit au contraire leur rappeler sans cesse qu'ils sont les agens et les délégués du peuple ou de ses représentans. Ainsi donc, en bonne théorie, et dans la pratique de tout gouvernement bien ordonné, le droit de nommer les fonctionnaires publics appartient essentiellement à la puissance législative.

Vous n'avez pas oublié ce que produisit, sous Dessalines, cette prérogative de nommer aux places, qui fut une de ses usurpations. L'ambition et la cupidité s'emparèrent de tous les cœurs : des hommes irréprochables jusqu'alors, consentirent, pour obtenir ou conserver un emploi, à se faire les suppôts et

les agens de la tyrannie ; d'autres devinrent, à la volonté du tyran, les instrumens de sa férocité.

Tous les chefs, il est vrai, ne ressemblent point à Dessalines ; mais en législation on compte sur les principes, et jamais sur les hommes.

Celui qui est chargé de faire des lois pour son pays, écarte de lui toutes passions, ainsi que toutes affections particulières : le saint amour de la patrie remplit son cœur tout entier : le moment présent n'est point tout pour lui ; son âme s'élance dans l'avenir ; il s'associe aux générations qui doivent lui succéder ; il veut que les lois politiques et civiles soient en harmonie avec les lois de la nature, parce qu'il se regarde comme l'organe et le ministre de cette Providence divine, qui a créé l'homme pour qu'il fût heureux dans tous les temps.

D'ailleurs, Citoyens, si nous déléguions au chef du gouvernement une portion seulement du Pouvoir Législatif, au lieu de travailler pour la liberté, nous établirions le despotisme. L'expérience ne prouve-t-elle pas que le Pouvoir Législatif tend sans cesse au relâchement, tandis que le Pouvoir Exécutif acquiert sans cesse une plus grande intensité de force ?

Nous vous proposons, Citoyens, qu'aucune somme ne sorte du trésor public sans la signature du Secrétaire d'Etat, qui, placé auprès du Sénat, sera toujours prêt à lui rendre compte de ses opérations. Il est juste que le peuple, dont les contributions forment les revenus de l'Etat, soit instruit de l'emploi qui en a été fait. S'il en était autrement ; si, comme dans les monarchies, le trésor public devenait le trésor d'un individu, la corruption s'introduirait jusque dans le Sénat. Les hommes étant par-tout les mêmes, ayons la modestie de croire que nous ne serons pas plus incorruptibles dans notre République, qu'ils ne le sont ailleurs.

Dans la situation où nous nous trouvons avec les autres gouvernemens, il est important de reconnaître au Sénat le droit



d'entretenir les relations extérieures et de conduire les négociations. Nous devons rechercher la bienveillance et cultiver l'amitié de tous les gouvernemens. En leur payant les égards et le respect qui leur sont dûs, nous aurons droit d'espérer de leur part, un retour de procédés nobles et généreux.

En nous occupant du Pouvoir Exécutif, nous avons pensé que le titre modeste de *Président* était celui qui convenait le plus au premier magistrat de la République. Nous vous proposons qu'il soit élu pour quatre ans, et qu'il puisse être indéfiniment ré-élu ; nous vous proposons aussi qu'il ait le commandement de l'armée, et qu'il nomme les commissaires près les Tribunaux.

Ces pouvoirs et ses attributions, qui excèdent ceux que possédait le Directoire Exécutif de France, rendent extrêmement importante la carrière qu'il va parcourir. Déjà, nous entendons la voix du peuple qui lui crie :

“ Nos Représentans vous ont élu à la première magistrature de l'Etat : ils ont voulu que vous en fussiez le premier Citoyen. —Honneurs, dignités, fortune, ils ont tout accumulé sur votre tête.—Si vous le méritez, vous serez toute votre vie entouré de l'éclat du commandement ; mais contribuez à nous rendre heureux. Rappelez-vous qu'il vient un moment où toutes les illusions des hommes se dissipent ; et que, lorsque vous serez arrivé à ce terme auquel la nature vous appelle comme tout autre, vous ne trouverez alors de réel et de consolant que le témoignage d'une conscience irréprochable, ainsi que le souvenir des services rendus à la patrie.”

Dans l'article qui traite de la justice civile, vous trouverez des dispositions qui garantissent vos propriétés ; et dans l'article qui traite de la justice criminelle, vous trouverez des dispositions qui respirent l'humanité.

En reconnaissant à tout citoyen le droit d'émettre et de publier ses pensées sur les matières du gouvernement, nous faisons de la liberté de la presse, le palladium de la liberté publique.

Gouvernés par de tels principes, obéissant à une constitution qui sera la boussole qui nous empêchera de nous égarer dans la route que nous avons à suivre, que nous manquera-t-il pour être heureux ? Rien, Citoyens, si nous savons user des bienfaits de cette Providence divine qui nous a protégés dans toutes nos entreprises ; et qui, en nous plaçant au centre de cet Archipel, sous un ciel heureux, sur une terre de merveilleuse fertilité, semble nous avoir destinés à être le peuple le plus fortuné de l'Univers.

(Signé) PETION, CEZAR THELEMAQUE, THEODAT TRICHET, MAGLOIRE AMBROISE, BRUNO BLANCHET, DAVID-TROY, MANIGAT, BONNET, LYS.

#### NOTE (Z).

#### ADRESSE DU SENAT AU PEUPLE.

CITOYENS,

Après avoir reconquis vos droits et déclaré à l'univers que vous vouliez vivre *libres, indépendans, et gouvernés par vos propres lois*, vous avez eu encore à combattre la tyrannie qui s'était élevée dans votre propre sein. Le génie de la Liberté a triomphé, et vous vous êtes donné une Constitution, où les droits du peuple ont été stipulés, sa garantie fixée, l'ordre social établi ; vous devez ce bienfait à la Providence, à votre courage, et au dévouement des chefs qui vous ont dirigés. Vous avez pensé, avec raison, qu'une Constitution créée dans le tumulte des armes, sur les débris sanglans du despotisme, au milieu des passions mal éteintes, fournirait peut-être à l'expérience quelques abus à corriger ; vous vous êtes réservé le droit de la réviser dans un espace de neuf années ; la proposition en a été accordée au Sénat qui vous représente.

Citoyens, cette époque est arrivée ; la République a surmonté tous les obstacles et toutes les entraves qui auraient pu s'opposer à sa marche ferme et assurée ; elle a élevé son front majestueux au-dessus de toutes les tempêtes qui se sont formées

contre elle ; rien n'a résisté à l'accomplissement de ses hautes destinées.

Cette période de notre existence politique s'est opérée sous l'exercice des sénateurs que nous remplaçons par votre choix, et par l'expression de la loi, sous la présidence de cet homme rare et vertueux, dont les mains habiles, le cœur droit et généreux, ont, de concert avec vos législateurs, conservé l'intégrité de la République, le dépôt précieux de nos lois et l'honneur national. Avec des exemples si frappans et des intentions pures, nous nous estimerons heureux de pouvoir les imiter, et de marcher dans la carrière qu'ils nous ont si noblement tracée.

Citoyens, nos devoirs, le bonheur du peuple, ses droits, sa liberté, son indépendance, seront toujours notre première pensée ; nous ne nous écarterons jamais de cette obligation, et l'amour de la *patrie* sera le palladium de vos Représentans.

Le premier acte de notre autorité doit être un bienfait pour notre République, un appel au peuple pour consacrer à jamais son état en société et ses privilèges ; pour se couvrir de l'égide sacrée d'une Constitution définitive, afin qu'il puisse jouir pour toujours des avantages qu'elle doit lui procurer, et apprendre aux nations que la République de Haiti est un Gouvernement juste, fondé sur des lois sages et positives, où chacun peut exercer les droits qu'elle lui accordent, et trouver sûreté et protection.

En conséquence, le Sénat, après avoir mûrement examiné le titre XII de la Constitution, propose au peuple, après qu'il se sera conformé aux articles 183, 184, 185 et 186, du même titre, de reviser les articles des titres suivans :

Titre I. Dispositions Générales.

Titre II. Du Territoire.

Titre III. Etat politique des Citoyens.

Titre IV. De la Religion et des Mœurs.

Titre V. Pouvoir Législatif.

Titre VI. Promulgation des Lois.

Titre VII. Du Pouvoir Exécutif.

Titre VIII. Du Pouvoir Judiciaire.

Et les titres X et XI, de la *Culture* et du *Commerce* ainsi que du *Secrétaire-d'Etat*.

Les différens articles de tous les titres ci-dessus, exigeant un changement, ils vous sont désignés pour en faire le redressement.

Le lieu destiné pour la tenue des séances de l'Assemblée de Révision, est fixé au Grand-Goâve pour le premier du mois de Mars prochain.

La présente Adresse sera lue, publiée et adressée par un message au Président d'Haiti pour avoir son exécution.

A la Maison Nationale du Port-au-Prince, le 6 Février 1816, an 13 de l'Indépendance.

PANAYOTY, Président.

HILAIRE, Secrétaire.

(NOTE AA).—The actual condition of the government is as fairly given as my materials enable me to do ; but I do not wish to involve myself in any discussions as to its perfection or imperfection. The facts stated have been derived from the best authorities, and those who wish to reason upon them may exercise their own discretion ; but it should be always recollected that I am not responsible for their deductions, as one person has attempted to make me.

I have been much censured for having described marriage as an institution little regarded ; and much foolish reasoning has been expended, not to disprove what I say, but to show that I ought to be wrong. The statements in the text best illustrate the sagacity of those who, knowing nothing from observation, would have it believed that a correct estimate of the habits and morals of a people can be obtained, simply by reference to some particular laws. Were I at all disposed to discussion, it would be very easy to establish all that I have ever advanced, by the

laws which have only been examined for one specific object, that of describing an imaginary people.

Blame has also been heaped upon me by the same candid person, because I described education as being at a low pitch : I did so advisedly ; and the fact is not subverted by other facts, that there are some well informed and well educated people in the Republic : the former is general, the latter the exception. Were it necessary, I could give a long list of functionaries both civil and military, who can neither read nor write ; but I conceive it to be unnecessary to do so ; and to enter into any needless details on such topics, I apprehend would be evidence, not of a desire to establish the truth, but of trifling with the feelings of individuals in a way that would be unwarrantable.

NOTE (BB).—The regulations of Polverel are too long to be here given ; and the necessity is in a great measure superseded, by their having been already given at full length in the reports laid before parliament.

NOTE (CC).

PROCLAMATION DU GENERAL HEDOUVILLE.

(1798.)

Au Cap, le 16 Thermidor, l'an six de la République  
Françoise, une et indivisible.

Le Général de Division, agent particulier, au Directoire Exécutif à St. Domingue ; aux Administrations Municipales ; aux Tribunaux Correctionnels et de Paix, aux Commissaires du Directoire Exécutif ; aux Officiers Généraux ; aux Commandans d'Arrondissement ; et aux Officiers supérieurs de Gendarmerie.

JE vous adresse ci-joint, Citoyens, l'arrêté que je viens de prendre ; sur les obligations réciproques des propriétaires ou fermiers et des cultivateurs, et concernant la police à faire observer sur les habitations. Bien persuadé que cet arrêté ne produirait

pas tout l'effet qu'on doit en espérer, si les juges de paix ou agens municipaux, les commandans militaires et les commandans de gendarmerie ne faisoient pas comprendre, avec beaucoup de patience, aux cultivateurs, les motifs de chacune des dispositions qu'il renferme, je vous recommande de les leur faire expliquer clairement en Créole, toutes les fois qu'on leur en fera lecture.

Notre sublime Constitution veut la liberté, et tous les fonctionnaires publics, en jurant de la maintenir, ont voué une haine éternelle à la royauté et à l'anarchie. Malheur aux insensés, qui aveuglés par leurs préjugés, ou par l'espoir de profiter encore du désordre, chercheroient à donner des inquiétudes à des hommes qui ne se laissent quelquefois abuser, que parce qu'ils sont aussi simples que bons ! C'est à tous les agens du gouvernement à surveiller les malveillans et les intrigans, à les poursuivre sans relâche, et à les livrer aux tribunaux qui doivent connoître de leurs délits.

A St. Domingue, comme en France, les royalistes et les anarchistes voient, en rougissant, l'établissement et l'affermissement de l'ordre constitutionnel. Pour troubler la tranquillité de la colonie, ils tentent tous les moyens de nuire à la prospérité des cultures : persuadons aux cultivateurs, disent-ils, que la liberté consiste à ne pas travailler ; et si nous y réussissons, nous les remettrons dans l'esclavage, parce que la colonie ne faisant plus de revenu, la métropole l'abandonnera. Semblables au frêlon qui s'empare des ruches, ils finiroient par exterminer les abeilles. Mais non, les amis de la liberté, les vrais républicains, feront sentir aux cultivateurs que le travail seul peut les rendre heureux, en leur procurant abondamment les moyens de pourvoir aux besoins de leur famille, et en élevant la colonie au degré de splendeur auquel elle doit prétendre.

Vous ne pouvez donc trop veiller à la stricte exécution des mesures que je prescis, soit en faveur des cultivateurs, soit pour la bonne police des habitations. Lorsque ces mesures auront



produit leur effet, en y fixant les cultivateurs, on pourra diminuer la durée des peines infligées à ceux qui manqueraient à leurs engagemens et aux vagabonds. Elles ne leur seroient pas aussi sensibles, si on ne les faisoit pas travailler pendant leur détention, soit aux travaux publics, sur les routes, soit à la culture.

Les administrations municipales et les commandans militaires de toutes les communes, où il y a des maisons de détention, se concerteront pour faire choisir, sur une des habitations non encore entièrement en valeur, à portée de la commune, un emploiement propre à la culture des vivres de terre.

Les administrations municipales feront fournir les graines, les boutures et les outils nécessaires pour cultiver les vivres qui ne seront délivrés, soit pour les troupes, soit pour les prisonniers, que d'après leur autorisation.

Les propriétaires ou fermiers des habitations, où l'on cultivera ces vivres, seront tenus de veiller à leur conservation, et de désigner, à cet effet, un gardien auquel la municipalité fera donner une petite rétribution.

Cette rétribution et les dépenses d'outils et de graines seront payées par les trésoriers, sur les états des administrations municipales, ordonnancées par les commissaires chargés en chef du service.

Les commandans militaires feront conduire les prisonniers aux travaux par des détachemens de troupes, qui les surveilleront pendant le travail et prendront toutes les mesures qu'ils croiront nécessaires pour empêcher leur évasion, dont les commandans de détachemens, comme à leur garde, répondront.

Les vieillards et les prisonniers non accoutumés aux travaux de la campagne seront employés à faire de la charpie, de la filasse, ou à d'autres travaux de filature utiles pour les hôpitaux et la marine. Un commissaire de la municipalité déterminera les travaux de l'intérieur des prisons, et en surveillera l'exécution.

Lorsqu'un vagabond aura été condamné à la prison pour six mois, s'autorise le juge de paix qui aura prononcé la détention à l'en faire sortir avant l'expiration de ce terme, s'il consent à contracter un engagement.

Je prescris aux administrations municipales, aux juges de paix, aux commandans militaires des grands arrondissemens, et aux officiers supérieurs de la gendarmerie, de me rendre compte fréquemment de tout ce qui a rapport aux dispositions de cette lettre, et à l'exécution de l'arrêté qui l'accompagne.

Les commandans militaires en rendront aussi compte exactement aux officiers généraux commandans leur arrondissement.

Salut et fraternité,

(Signé) T. HEDOUVILLE.

Par l'Agent particulier au Directoire :—Le Secrétaire Général de l'Agence,

(Signé) GAUTHIER.

ARRETÉ concernant la Police des Habitations et les Obligations réciproques des Propriétaires, ou Fermiers, et des Cultivateurs.—1798.

Extrait du Registre des Délibérations de l'Agence au Directoire Exécutif à St. Domingue :

L'Agence du Directoire Exécutif, considérant que l'agriculture étant la base la plus solide de la prospérité des états, il est nécessaire de prendre tous les moyens possibles pour la rendre florissante, et d'assurer en même temps aux cultivateurs le fruit de leur travail et tous les avantages qu'on peut leur procurer sur les habitations :

Considérant qu'en France, où la liberté existe comme à St. Domingue, la loi punit l'homme qui ne travaille pas, et que les vagabonds sont arrêtés et condamnés à une détention plus ou moins longue suivant l'exigence des cas :

Considérant que les ouvriers des grandes manufactures y sont autorisés à prendre des engagemens réciproques avec les chefs de

ces manufactures, pour un temps limité conformément à l'article 15. de la déclaration des droits de l'homme, ainsi conçu : " Tout homme peut engager son temps et ses services, mais il ne peut le vendre ni être vendu ; la personne n'est point une propriété aliénable : "

Considérant que les cultivateurs et manœuvriers de la colonie peuvent se procurer une aisance plus grande que ceux de France, par la bonne police et discipline des ateliers :

Considérant enfin que l'expérience prouve que les cultivateurs laborieux retirent beaucoup moins de fruit de leurs peines lorsque leurs frères du même atelier s'abandonnent à la paresse, à la nonchalance, et même au vagabondage : en vertu de l'article 9. de la loi du 12 Nivose, qui l'autorise à faire provisoirement des réglemens de culture qui comprendront les obligations réciproques des propriétaires et des cultivateurs ; arrête ce qui suit :

Art. 1.—Les cultivateurs jouiront du quart du revenu des habitations sur lesquelles ils ont pris des engagemens ; le quart restera quitte de tous droits et frais, sans qu'il puisse en être rien distrait sous aucun prétexte. Les propriétaires ou fermiers ne pourront disposer d'aucune partie de leur revenu, qu'au préalable ils n'aient payé ce quart, qui dans aucun cas ne pourra être versé dans les magasins de la République.

2.—Des denrées seront partagées à chaque livraison, entre le propriétaire et le cultivateur, en nature ou en argent, au prix du cours, au choix du propriétaire ; en cas de partage en nature, celui-ci sera tenu de faire conduire à l'embarcadère le plus voisin, la portion des cultivateurs.

3.—Le partage du quart des revenus des habitations revenant aux cultivateurs, continuera d'être fait entr'eux de la manière prescrite par les anciens réglemens à ce relatifs.

4.—Les cultivateurs auront en outre leurs places à vivres : elles seront réparties équitablement entre chaque famille, eu égard à la qualité qu'il convient d'accorder.

5.—Les propriétaires ou fermiers seront tenus de faire visiter, soigner et médicamenter, à leurs frais, les cultivateurs des habitations ; et à cet effet, un chirurgien fera sur chacune d'elles deux visites par décade.

6.—Ils seront encore tenus de leur procurer tous les avantages qui leur sont accordés par les différens arrêtés ou proclamations rendues jusqu'à ce jour, notamment par ceux du 29 Août 1793 (v. s.) et du premier Frimaire, an 5 ; à défaut de quoi, ils y seront contraints par justice.

7.—Les propriétaires, fermiers ou gérans, devront en toute occasion se conduire en bons pères de famille ; ils engageront les cultivateurs à former des mariages légitimes, en leur faisant sentir que c'est le meilleur moyen de s'assurer la jouissance de tous les avantages de la société ; de se procurer des consolations, des soins et des secours dans leurs chagrins et leurs maladies ; de faire régner parmi eux la pureté des mœurs, si nécessaire pour le bonheur des hommes et la conservation de leur santé ; d'accroître enfin sensiblement la population de chaque habitation, d'étendre les cultures et d'en augmenter les produits.

8.—Les pères et mères qui auront le plus d'enfans provenant des mariages légitimes, seront distingués par le gouvernement, et en obtiendront des encouragemens, des gratifications, et même des concessions de terrains.

Ils jouiront d'ailleurs des avantages qui leur sont assurés par la proclamation du 29 Août 1793. (v. s.)

9.—Les heures de travail des cultivateurs sont irrévocablement fixées ainsi qu'il suit :

Le matin, depuis la pointe du jour jusqu'à onze heures. Pendant cet intervalle, il y aura une demi-heure destinée au déjeuner des cultivateurs, qui se fera sur le lieu même où ils sont occupés.

Le soir, les travaux reprendront à deux heures pour être continués sans interruption jusqu'au crépuscule.

10.—Pour connoître quels sont les cultivateurs qui assistent

assidument aux travaux de l'habitation, et afin de payer à chacun d'eux le juste salaire qu'il a mérité, les gérans de diverses habitations tiendront un registre exact de leurs journées, qu'ils arrêteront tous les jours, en présence des différens chefs de travaux; et lorsqu'il y aura de l'argent à distribuer à l'atelier, les cultivateurs n'auront part à la distribution qu'en raison de leurs journées de travail.

11.—Les propriétaires ou fermiers seront tenus de contracter avec les cultivateurs des engagemens dont la durée ne pourra être moindre de trois années, afin que les cultivateurs puissent aussi jouir de l'amélioration des habitations, dont le produit augmente évidemment chaque année, en raison des travaux qu'ils y font.

12.—Ces engagemens, où seront balancés les intérêts respectifs des propriétaires ou fermiers et des cultivateurs, seront reçus *gratis* par les juges de paix, ou, à leur défaut, par les officiers ou agens municipaux, qui en tiendront un registre ouvert, lequel fera foi lorsqu'il s'agira de prouver les peines qu'encourroient les contracteurs, en manquant à leurs engagemens.

13.—Les juges de paix, ou, à leur défaut, les officiers ou agens municipaux, certifieront l'agence trois décades après la réception du présent arrêté, du nombre des engagemens qui sont ou seront pris sur les diverses habitations de leurs cantons respectifs.

14.—Ne pourra un propriétaire ou fermier renvoyer un cultivateur, ni un cultivateur quitter un propriétaire ou fermier avec lequel il aura contracté un engagement, qu'au préalable ils ne se soient avertis réciproquement une année d'avance, avant l'expiration du dit engagement.

15.—Tout cultivateur qui quittera l'habitation sur laquelle il aura contracté un engagement, sera mis pour la première fois en prison pour un mois, la deuxième pour six mois, et la troisième pour un an.

Il payera en outre un gourdin à la gendarmerie qui l'aura arrêté.

16.—Tout propriétaire ou fermier qui ne produira pas les preuves des engagemens contractés entre les cultivateurs et lui, ne sera pas admis à faire des réclamations lorsqu'un ou plusieurs cultivateurs quitteront son habitation.

17.—Tout cultivateur qui, sous prétexte de maladie, ne se rendroit pas au travail et seroit surpris travaillant hors de l'habitation ou dans sa place à vivres aux heures du travail général, sera tenu de payer un gourdin par chaque jour qu'il n'aura pas participé au travail général.

18.—Le produit de cette amende sera déposée entre les mains des gérans, et sera destiné à former deux prix égaux, pour être distribués lors du partage de l'argent provenant du quart entre les cultivateurs. Ces prix seront donnés au cultivateur et à la cultivatrice qui auront travaillé le plus assidument.

19.—Les cultivateurs qui viendront au marché les jours de travail devront avoir une permission, par écrit, des gérans de leurs habitations respectives.

20.—Tout vagabond qui sera arrêté et qui n'auroit contracté aucun engagement, sera mis en prison pour six mois. A l'expiration de sa détention il sera tenu de contracter un engagement; et dans le cas où il manqueroit à cet engagement, il sera condamné, pour la première fois, à un an de détention, et pour la seconde à deux ans.

21.—Tout cultivateur ou manœuvrier qui sera mis en prison, sera employé aux travaux publics pendant le temps de sa détention, conformément à l'article 5, titre 2, du décret sur la police municipale et correctionnelle, du 19 Juillet 1791, (v. s.)

22.—Tous les différens d'intérêt de cultivateur à cultivateur, et des cultivateurs avec les propriétaires ou fermiers, seront portés devant les juges de paix, qui concilieront les parties, ou, s'ils ne le peuvent, prononceront d'après les lois.

23.—Le propriétaire, fermier ou cultivateur qui aura porté



des plaintes sans fondement, au juge de paix, sera condamné à une amende de deux gourdins pour les cultivateurs, et d'une gourde pour les propriétaires ou fermiers, laquelle amende sera versée avec celle destinée à former des prix pour les cultivateurs les plus laborieux.

24.—Si les différens survenus entre les cultivateurs occasionnoient un mouvement sur les habitations, les propriétaires, fermiers ou gérans en instruiront, de suite, le commandant militaire le plus à portée desdites habitations, lequel sera tenu de s'y transporter aussitôt et de faire arrêter les perturbateurs de l'ordre, pour être traduits devant le juge de paix du canton.

25.—Celui qui aura provoqué le mouvement par ses paroles ou actions, sera traduit devant le juge de paix, ou, s'il y a lieu, devant le tribunal correctionnel, et condamné, selon la gravité du délit et des circonstances, à une peine qui ne pourra excéder deux ans de prison, conformément à l'article 25 du titre 2 de la loi déjà citée.

26.—Tous les individus qui auront pris part au mouvement seront condamnés, par le juge de paix, à une détention, dont il déterminera la durée en raison des circonstances et de la nature du délit, pourvu qu'elle n'excède pas un mois.

27.—Les juges de paix prononceront également la peine de détention, qui ne pourra excéder un mois, contre tous les citoyens qui troubleroient l'ordre, la police et la discipline, qui doivent régner dans tous les ateliers.

28.—Toutes les peines qui n'excéderont pas une année de détention, seront prononcées par les juges de paix, et lorsqu'elles excéderont ce terme, par les tribunaux correctionnels.

29.—Les juges rendront compte, tous les mois, à l'agence du Directoire Exécutif, des événemens qui seront survenus dans leurs cantons respectifs, des progrès de la culture, et des moyens d'amélioration qu'ils jugeront lui être applicables.

30.—Toutes les fois qu'un commandant d'un arrondissement ou les commandans militaires les plus à portée d'une habitation

seront requis de s'y transporter, soit par les autorités constituées, soit par les propriétaires fermiers ou gérans, ils prendront les mesures les plus efficaces pour prévenir le désordre ; et ils en seront personnellement responsables, s'ils n'ont pas exactement rempli leur devoir.

31.—La gendarmerie sera aux ordres des commandans militaires pour le maintien du bon ordre et de la police sur les habitations.

32.—Il sera seulement laissé un détachement de gendarmerie, commandé par un officier ou sous-officier, qui sera entièrement aux ordres des administrations municipales, et des juges de paix, en tout ce qui est relatif à leurs fonctions.

33.—Le commandant de ce détachement prendra, tous les matins, les ordres du commissaire du Directoire Exécutif, ou à son défaut, du juge de paix, et lui rendra compte de ce qu'il y aura de nouveau dans l'arrondissement.

34.—Pour la police des habitations seulement, il sera suppléé par des troupes, à l'insuffisance de la gendarmerie jusqu'à l'organisation définitive de ce corps.

35.—Les commandans de quartiers feront faire de fréquentes patrouilles sur les différentes habitations de leurs arrondissemens respectifs, principalement aux heures désignées pour se rendre au travail, afin d'y faire aller régulièrement les cultivateurs. Ces patrouilles arrêteront tous les vagabonds et les cultivateurs qui ne seroient pas munis de permissions de s'absenter de leur gérant, et les feront traduire devant le juge de paix.

36.—Les permissions de s'absenter, délivrées par les gérans des habitations, ne seront valables que dans l'étendue de la commune ou arrondissement où sont situées les dites habitations. Lorsque les cultivateurs s'absenteront de leur commune, ils seront tenus de se munir de passeports des autorités du lieu de leur domicile, à défaut de quoi ils seront arrêtés et traités comme il est dit dans l'article précédent.

37.—Les commandans de quartiers surveilleront, en ce qui

les concerne, l'exécution de cet arrêté, et rendront compte, tous les mois, aux autorités supérieures. Ils auront soin en outre de les instruire sur-le-champ des événemens extraordinaires.

38.—Tous les mois il sera fait lecture de cet arrêté aux cultivateurs assemblés sur chaque habitation, à la diligence des commissaires du Directoire Exécutif, des juges de paix, et des commandans de quartiers.

Le présent arrêté sera imprimé, publié, affiché partout où besoin sera, transcrit sur les registres des corps administratifs et judiciaires, et adressé à toutes les autorités, civiles et militaires, lesquelles, chacune en ce qui la concerne, sont responsables de son exécution ; il sera en outre inséré au bulletin officiel de St. Domingue.

Fait au Cap, le 6 Thermidor, l'an sixième de la République Française, une et indivisible.

Au Registre des Procès-verbaux, l'Agent Particulier du Directoire Exécutif,

(Signé)

T. HEDOUVILLE.

Le Secrétaire Général de l'Agence,

GAUTHIER.

Pour copie conforme :—Le Secrétaire Général de l'Agence,

(Signé)

GAUTHIER.

NOTE (DD).

## CONSTITUTION DE LA COLONIE FRANCAISE DE ST. DOMINGUE.

### TITRE VI.—Des Cultures et du Commerce.

14.—La colonie, étant essentiellement agricole, ne peut souffrir la moindre interruption dans les travaux de ses cultures.

15.—Chaque habitation est une manufacture qui exige une réunion de cultivateurs et ouvriers. C'est l'asile tranquille d'une active et constante famille, dont le propriétaire du sol, ou son représentant, est nécessairement le père.

16.—Chaque cultivateur et ouvrier est membre de la famille, et portionnaire dans les revenus.

Tout changement de domicile de la part des cultivateurs entraîne la ruine des cultures.

Pour réprimer un vice aussi funeste à la colonie, que contraire à l'ordre public, le Gouverneur fait tous réglemens de police que les circonstances nécessitent, et conformes aux bases du règlement du 20 Vendémiaire, an neuf, et de la Proclamation du 19 Pluviôse suivant, du Général en chef Toussaint Louverture.

17.—L'introduction des cultivateurs, indispensables au rétablissement et à l'accroissement des cultures, aura lieu à Saint-Domingue. La constitution charge le Gouverneur de prendre les mesures convenables pour encourager et favoriser cette augmentation de bras, stipuler et balancer les divers intérêts, assurer et garantir l'exécution des engagemens respectifs, résultant de cette introduction.

18.—Le commerce de la colonie ne consiste uniquement que dans l'échange des denrées et productions de son territoire ; en conséquence, l'introduction de celles de même nature que les siennes, est et demeure prohibée.

The whole of this Constitution will also be found in the printed reports.

#### NOTE (EE).

#### CODE RURAL.

##### *Loi sur les Dispositions générales relatives à l'Agriculture.*

ART. 3. Tous les citoyens étant obligés de concourir à soutenir l'Etat, soit par leurs services, soit par leur industrie, ceux qui ne seront pas employés civils ou requis pour le service militaire ; ceux qui n'exerceront pas une profession assujettie à la patente ; ceux qui ne seront pas ouvriers travaillans, ou employés comme domestiques ; ceux qui ne seront pas employés à la coupe des bois propres à l'exportation ; ceux enfin qui ne pourront pas justifier leurs moyens d'existence, devront cultiver la terre.

ART. 4. Les citoyens de profession agricole ne pourront

quitter les campagnes pour habiter les villes ou bourgs, sans une autorisation du juge de paix de la commune qu'ils voudront quitter, et de celui de la commune où ils devront se fixer ; le juge de paix ne donnera l'autorisation qu'après s'être assuré que le réclamant est de bonnes mœurs, qu'il a tenu une conduite régulière dans le canton qu'il se dispose à quitter, et qu'il a des moyens d'existence dans la ville qu'il veut habiter. Tous ceux qui ne se conformeront pas aux règles ci-dessus établies, seront considérés comme vagabonds et traités comme tels.

ART. 5. Les enfans des deux sexes que leurs parens, attachés à la culture, désireront envoyer dans les villes ou bourgs pour leur apprentissage ou pour leur éducation, ne pourront être reçus soit par les entrepreneurs, soit par les instituteurs publics ou particuliers, qu'avec un certificat du juge de paix ; lequel certificat sera accordé sur la demande soit du propriétaire ou fermier principal du lieu, soit de l'officier de la police rurale, soit du père ou de la mère de l'enfant.

Toute contravention aux présentes dispositions sera assujettie à une amende de vingt-cinq gourdes, payables par celui qui aura reçu l'enfant sans autorisation.

A l'avenir, aucune case ne pourra être bâtie dans les campagnes, là où il n'y aura pas de bourgade reconnue, si elle n'est dépendante d'un établissement rural.

#### *De la Répression du Vagabondage.*

ART. 174. Toutes personnes qui ne seront pas propriétaires ou fermiers du bien rural où elles sont fixées, ou qui n'auront point fait un contrat avec un propriétaire ou fermier principal, seront réputées vagabonds, et seront arrêtées par la police rurale de la section dans laquelle elles seront trouvées, et conduites devant le juge de paix de la commune.

ART. 175. Le juge de paix, après avoir interrogé et entendu la personne menée devant lui, lui fera connaître les articles de la loi qui l'obligent à contracter pour se livrer à des occupa-

tions agricoles ; et, après cet avertissement, l'enverra en détention dans la maison d'arrêt, jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait contracté, aux termes de la loi.

Art. 176. Le juge de paix veillera à ce que le détenu contracte avec un propriétaire, un fermier principal ou sous-fermier, ou avec un chef de société agricole, à son choix.

Art. 177. Si, après huit jours de détention, le détenu n'avait pas pris un parti pour se livrer à des occupations agricoles, il sera envoyé aux travaux publics pour la propreté de la ville ou bourg où sera située la maison d'arrêt, et y sera employé jusqu'à ce qu'il se décide à contracter pour se livrer aux travaux de la campagne.

Quiconque détournera ces détenus des travaux publics, pour les employer à des travaux particuliers, sera passible d'une amende de cinquante gourdes, dont moitié sera allouée au détenu plaignant.

Art. 178. Si la personne arrêtée était un enfant en minorité, le juge de paix s'enquerra de ses père et mère, et l'enverra les rejoindre pour suivre leur condition.

Art. 180. Toute personne fixée dans les campagnes comme agriculteur, qui sera trouvée un jour ouvrable et pendant les heures de travail dans l'inaction, ou en courses et promenades sur les chemins publics, sera considérée comme oisive, sera en conséquence arrêtée et conduite chez le juge de paix, qui l'enverra en prison pendant vingt-quatre heures pour la première fois, et, en cas de récidive, aux travaux publics de la ville.

Art. 181. Les officiers de la police rurale veilleront à ce que des vagabonds et des oisifs ne se cachent pas sous l'uniforme des militaires des différens corps : lorsqu'ils trouveront, dans les sections sous leur surveillance, des hommes qu'ils ne connaîtront pas personnellement pour être en activité de service dans le corps dont ils porteront l'uniforme, ils les arrêteront et les enverront au commandant militaire de la commune, pour vérifier si la personne arrêtée avec l'uniforme d'un corps en fait



partie. Dans le cas où l'individu ne serait pas militaire, il sera déposé en prison, suivant l'article 175, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait formé un contrat pour travailler à la culture.

Art. 182. Les officiers de la police rurale veilleront à ce que, dans l'étendue des sections sous leur direction, personne ne demeure dans l'oisiveté : à cet effet, ils sont autorisés à se faire rendre compte par les individus qu'ils ne trouveront pas au travail, du genre de leurs occupations ; et si ces individus ne prouvent pas qu'ils cultivent la terre, ou sont employés sur des hattes, suivant la loi No. 4., ils seront regardés comme gens sans aveu et arrêtés comme vagabonds.

NOTE (FF).

A GENERAL TABLE of EXPORTS from HAITI, during the Years 1789, 1801, and from 1818 to 1826, both inclusive.

Year	Clayed Sugar.	Muscovado Sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Indigo.	Molasses.	Dye Woods.	Tobacco.	Castor Oil.	Mahogany.	Cigars.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	gallons	Feet.	
1789	47,516,531	93,573,300	76,835,219	7,004,274	.....	758,628	25,749	..	.....	....	.....	.....
1801	16,540	18,518,572	43,420,270	2,480,340	648,518	804	99,419	6,768,634	.....	....	5,217	.....
1818	198	5,443,567	26,065,200	474,118	434,368	.....	.....	6,819,300	19,140	121	129,962	.....
1819	157	3,790,143	20,240,919	216,103	370,439	.....	.....	3,094,409	39,698	711	141,577	.....
1820	2,787	2,514,502	35,137,759	346,839	556,424	.....	.....	1,919,748	97,600	157	129,509	.....
1821	.....	600,934	20,925,951	820,563	264,792	.....	.....	3,728,186	76,400	....	55,005	.....
1822	.....	200,454	24,235,372	592,368	464,154	.....	211,927	8,295,080	588,957	....	2,622,277	279,000
1823	.....	14,920	33,802,837	332,256	335,540	.....	.....	6,607,308	387,014	....	2,369,047	393,800
1824	.....	5,106	44,269,084	1,028,045	461,694	1,240	.....	3,858,151	718,679	....	2,181,747	175,000
1825	.....	2,020	36,034,300	815,697	339,937	.....	.....	3,948,190	503,425	....	2,986,469	.....
1826	.....	32,864	32,189,784	620,972	457,592	.....	.....	5,307,745	340,588	....	2,136,984	179,500

Gum Guaiacum, in 1822, 7,338 lbs.—1823, 13,956 lbs.—1824, 68,692 lbs.

NOTE (GG).

RETURN of EXPORTS from PORT-AU-PRINCE, from the year 1818 to 1826, both inclusive.

Years.	Muscovado Sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Logwood.	Nicaragua and Lignum Vitæ.	Mahogany.	Tobacco.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Feet.	lbs.
1818	1,994,909	11,509,949	201,847	84,117	2,741,173	.....	144	—
1819	871,373	12,379,999	162,167	130,822	1,902,679	81,373	29,430	—
1820	393,719	13,729,327	261,416	341,245	1,122,495	15,975	24,785	—
1821	40,614	12,530,199	373,418	48,540	1,841,873	12,637	109	—
1822	.....	11,141,172	197,363	106,785	2,273,524	10,524	12,327	—
1823	14,619	14,156,036	223,975	131,558	1,858,464	.....	.....	35,666
1824	985	19,478,022	871,085	112,065	821,629	.....	41,933	67,723
1825	1,743	15,546,474	582,832	134,678	1,036,199	.....	43,139	88,695
1826	1,366	15,992,635	510,140	45,865	2,121,743	62,118	16,466	72,130

In 1824 there was an additional export of 4,420 Goat Skins, and 1,173 lbs. of Yellow Wax.

1826.....32,400 Cigars ..... 332 do.....do ..... and 3,123 lbs. of Ginger.

NOTE (HH).

RETURN of PRODUCE exported from CAYES and its Dependencies, formerly the Province of the South, during the years 1810, 1811, and 1812, and from 1818 to 1826, both inclusive.

Year.	Muscovado Sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Logwood.	Mahogany.	Nicaragua and Lignum Vitæ.	Tobacco.	Castor Oil.	Sirup.	Pistachio Nuts.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Feet.	lbs.		Galls.	lbs.	Barrels.
1810	.....	3,220,788	51,421	35,548	1,327,860	2,506	86,371	.....	135	—	—
1811	4,919	2,286,479	7,026	51,988	2,235,404	4,310	.....	.....	481	224,463	54
1812, 6 months }	2,100	1,034,355	15,599	8,930	1,530,705	4,564	9,861	.....	767	462,952	13
1818	341,940	5,408,582	501,066	242,169	3,172,304	24,539	54,528	.....	....	60,747	—
1819	.....	5,778,555	23,854	85,427	921,508	248	6,000	.....	....	12,194	—
1820	19,263	8,312,839	25,149	94,037	660,085	14,479	20,400	.....	....	48,711	—
1821	236	6,684,697	12,904	155,067	1,116,810	7,392	63,325	—	—	—	—
1822	.....	5,640,992	4,786	246,965	2,219,218	1,156	347,490	.....	....	.....	—
1823	.....	8,834,089	3,590	97,621	1,881,464	490	18,200	.....	....	.....	—
1824	.....	12,565,482	.....	232,314	774,282	.....	64,150	.....	....	.....	—
1825	198	8,482,875	2,168	126,158	731,802	600	128,821	.....	....	.....	—
1826	.....	7,529,895	55,111	338,796	1,467,079	102,470	179,064	.....	....	.....	—

In 1826.....13,000 Cigars were exported from Jérémie.

NOTE (II).

RETURN of PRODUCE exported from JACMEL, from the Year 1818 to 1826, both inclusive.

Year.	Muscovado Sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Logwood.	Nicaragua and Lignum Vitæ.	Mahogany.	Indigo.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Fct.	lbs.
1818	.....	3,362,098	131,088	....	803,931	47,364	109,377	—
1819	3,780	4,369,275	30,902	67,064	236,667	3,290	119,819	—
1820	481	3,150,746	58,776	....	88,257	12,536	90,245	—
1821	.....	4,755,420	57,908	....	131,213	3,700	40,579	—
1822	.....	2,577,730	30,907	....	565,746	7,110	21,190½	—
1823	81	3,868,612	7,892	....	398,972	1,920	54,429	—
1824	.....	5,010,311	13,081	8,615	663,678	17,131	23,212	134
1825	.....	4,468,196	18,280	....	402,375	2,275	65,881	—
1826	30	3,362,708	3,477	....	202,902	1,307	31,188	—

NOTE (JJ).—RETURN of PRODUCE from CAPE HAITIEN, from the Year 1803 to 1826, both inclusive.

Year.	Clayed Sugar.	Muscovado Sugar.	Syrup.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Dye Woods.	Mahogany.	Tobacco.	Rum.	Indigo.	Molasses.	Castor Oil.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Feet.	lbs.	Gallons.	lbs.	Hogsds.	Gallons.
1803	29,487	590,990	...	6,840,790	32,874	22,224	936,474	.....	3,700	.....	.....	39	1,340
1804	26,042	369,348	...	4,574,509	20,319	43,307	1,387,733	.....	18,842	.....	.....	42	607
1805	.....	214,147	...	2,933,968	8,409	37,488	961,735	.....	7,500	.....	.....	.....	1,409
1806	.....	832,740	...	5,608,253	.....	83,435	250,060	.....	.....	.....	56	.....	3,260
1807	3,840	568,068	...	8,516,921	3,177	78,831	63,286	.....	3,600	910	.....	134	3,746
1808	7,990	500,302	...	6,790,927	38,717	44,602	24,169	.....	7,410	300	.....	36	26,401
1809	1,550	832,734	...	10,232,910	117,290	32,305	3,710	.....	10,426	760	558	10	5,414
1810	90,147	522,229	...	6,610,875	13,117	135,478	1,113	.....	2,178	700	110	129	7,840
1811	147,141	1,098,915	...	4,945,373	1,002	42,554	473,375	.....	1,009	5,009	350	14	1,189
1812	700	1,301,279	...	4,819,743	714	75,801	177,725	.....	49,089	1,850	729	47	910
1813	890	1,092,148	...	3,768,172	9,136	44,710	230,140	.....	15,640	1,300	114	19	3,714
1814	2,714	1,870,825	...	10,093,610	114,613	40,639	69,109	.....	20,475	3,712	275	553	572
1815	619	6,221,167	...	5,878,841	25,958	69,769	11,017	.....	224	1,417	.....	905	1,002
1816	2,114	2,625,079	...	4,218,540	416	62,949	14,178	.....	82,658	511	.....	639	930
1817	112	3,410,214	...	4,874,916	444,117	86,114	231,107	.....	36,412	114	.....	315	610
1818	198	3,547,118	...	5,784,611	90,117	108,102	39,410	.....	19,140	911	.....	422	1,212
1819	157	2,014,911	...	6,714,174	1,141	87,124	1,109	.....	39,698	1,319	.....	220	711
1820	2,787	2,101,040	...	9,944,847	1,498	121,142	14,074	.....	97,600	14,114	.....	910	157
1821	.....	560,084	...	5,025,703	1,049	57,446	640,872	.....	76,460	—	—	—	—
1822	.....	200,000	...	4,220,262	32,942	77,096	2,195,198	.....	177,081	—	—	—	—
1823	.....	.....	...	6,339,830	17,620	103,070	1,972,401	.....	78,609	—	—	—	—
1824	.....	4,121	...	6,529,233	28,038	65,598	1,126,967	.....	269,133	—	—	—	—
1825	.....	.....	...	6,564,601	.....	87,615	1,181,166	.....	148,961	—	—	—	—
1826	.....	30,818	...	4,912,315	15,145	76,854	942,709	.....	172,093	—	—	—	—



NOTE (KK).

RETURN of Tonnage and Value of imports into Haiti, during the Year 1825, and the three first Quarters of 1826.

1825.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Value of Cargoes in Dollars.	1826.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Remarks.
American.....	374	39,199	1,958,921	American.....	250	25,559	No Returns to be obtained of the value of the Im- ports for 1826.
British.....	78	11,952	1,457,281	British.....	37	6,376	
Colombian.....	16	1,195	46,127	Colombian.....	11	740	
Danish.....	2	133	4,687	Danish.....	8	412	
French.....	65	11,136	763,404	French.....	66	12,025	
German.....	17	3,185	429,754	German.....	4	747	
				Dutch.....	11	645	
				Haitian.....	5	319	
				Portuguese.....	1	92	
				Russian.....	1	181	
				Spanish.....	1	5	
TOTAL.....	552	66,800	4,660,174	TOTAL.....	395	47,101	

## NOTE (LL).

*Continuation of Mr. Clarkson's letter,  
referred to in p. 258.*

Permit me now to ask this question:—"If Ogé gave birth to the insurrections in St. Domingo, *who fitted him, or made him an instrument for such a work?*" I answer, that it is not necessary to go to the Committees either of Paris or London to look out for the agents among these. They who first called forth his anger and kept it alive, were the white colonists then resident in Paris. This I myself know to be the fact. Ogé was *to all appearance a very mild and placid* man during the first six weeks I knew him in Paris; but a more *irritable, ungovernable, and furious* man after this period I never saw. This change in his temper had been entirely brought about by the persons now mentioned. They had sown the seeds of vengeance in his mind, and by watering them had increased their growth. When Ogé came to Paris he came there with the fond hope that he should return home and enjoy the same privileges as the white subjects of France; that there would no longer be any hateful distinction between them on account of blood or colour; and that he should then become, and feel himself, *a full man*. This was the summit of his ambition. But his hopes were blasted by the intrigues of the white colonists at Paris. These had poisoned the minds of several of the members of the Assembly against the deputies of colour and their cause. They had made interest with some of the presidents of the Assembly for the time being to postpone the hearing of it, or to put it among the subjects for discussion at the bottom of the list. Six

times, to my knowledge, it was to have come on, but something always happened to prevent it. Not satisfied with this, they had threatened them with assassination if they persisted in their claims, so that they seldom stirred out of doors without fear or caution. They insulted them also in the streets. Monsieur Malouët was stated to have been at the head of the Planters' Committee for these vexatious proceedings. These things, one after the other, kept Ogé's mind in a state of continued irritation, so that he appeared at times like a person driven to madness, and I have often thought that if, after his return to St. Domingo, there should be any disagreeable collision between him and the whites, he would be an ungovernable and a dangerous person, and perhaps lose his life there; but I had no notion that he had left either Paris or London with any organised plan of force to redress his grievances. Mr. Mackenzie tells me that the French authors roundly assert that the expedition was carried into effect through my means. I should really laugh at this idea, if the subject were not a grave one, for the word expedition implies a previous collection of arms, ammunition, money, &c.; but how was a poor creature like Ogé to prepare for an expedition in London, when he came there with only twenty louis d'ors in his pocket, and had not wherewithal to get home without the aid of charity? But if it should be said in answer to this, that Ogé deceived me—that he pleaded poverty to me when he had plenty of money at command—and that he spent his time in London, when he was out of my sight, in preparing what he wanted for his expedition, I have only to say that I have all the acknowledgment I can wish for, for I only wish to be able to say with truth, that if he ever did such things in London, they were done entirely without my knowledge.

I have entered thus largely into the subject that Mr. Mackenzie may have no longer any doubt upon his mind concerning it.

You will therefore now, as I have closed my correspondence, be so good as to *write me a few lines immediately*, to let me know *if you have received four letters*, including *this*. I wrote you *three* before, and this makes the *fourth* and last.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your's truly,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

THE END.

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